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JOURNAL OF
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OVERSEAS

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Editor's Notes

THE JOURNAL has on many occasions published articles dealing with the relationship of local government to national development in specific countries or areas. In our first article in this issue,[1] Dr. Gorvine sets out what is, in his opinion, the contribution which any developing country can and should make towards its own development.

He maintains, as others have done, that development must come from within the country, no matter what aids, in the way of finance, personnel or equipment, come from outside. Many phrases have been coined to cover this; it must be a 'felt need'; development must 'come from below'; development stems from the 'revolution of rising expectations'. To put it quite simply, a man will not work to attain something he does not want, or the need for which he cannot appreciate.

The realisation of development aims is not possible, Dr. Gorvine says, without a strong system of local government; man is essentially a parochial animal to whom a school for his children or a road along which his produce can reach the market is of infinitely more value than a steel works or a hyro-electric scheme. A strong local government can see to the fulfilment of these desires, while leaving the planning at state level to the central government.

The setting up of a system of local government is no easy task, especially when, as in many developing countries, there is no tradition on which to build. Dr. Gorvine's thesis is that strong central government must come first; a government weak at the centre will resist any urge to decentralise or dissipate its power. It must rid itself of the 'policeman-tax collector' image, which has often been its only point of contact with its people, and set up a well-integrated organisation at regional or district level to deal with rising expectations. A cadre of local government servants must be established who, Janus-like, will look to the centre and to the perimeter, and endeavour to gear the progress of one to that of the other.

Dr. Gorvine regards the interplay of national and local politics as an essential part of development. He looks upon local government institutions as the training ground for future national leaders, and upon local politicians as the means to acquaint the mass of the people with national decisions and their local implications.

[1] *Local Government and National Development*, p. 225.

National development, Dr. Gorvine says, invariably causes social disorganisation and political instability. To combat this, a clearly-defined local government system is necessary, with specific devolution of powers from a strong central authority. Parallel to this 'chain of command', politics must also play its part in explaining national decisions to the people.

We also welcome in this issue contributions from two countries which have not hitherto figured in the *Journal*. Dr. Brian Weinstein describes the School of Public Administration in Guinea, and at a time when so many similar institutions are being set up in English-speaking countries in Africa, it is interesting to compare them with one which is based on French tradition and attitudes.

Mr. C. H. Grant writes about the District Commissioner system in British Guiana. His article serves to illustrate that the system bears only a superficial resemblance to its African counterpart, and that it has been closely involved in local government since its inception in 1932.

Future Price: It is regretted that it has been found necessary to increase the price of the Journal to 4s. per copy net and 18s. including postage for the annual subscription rate. The increase will commence with the January, 1966 issue.

The Utilization of Local Government for National Development

by Albert Gorvine

This paper attempts to indicate a new and different role for local government in national development, and suggests recommendations for a new emphasis in the entire relationship of the local government to the national government. The problem of the role of local government in national development has been the subject of much discussion in recent writing and at international conferences. In a summary of two conferences late in 1961, Mr. Emil Sady, Chief of the Local Government Section, Division for Public Administration, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, presented some of the significant findings of a Cambridge Conference on Local Government in Africa, September, 1961, and a United Nations Conference in Geneva, October, 1961. His paper represented a consensus of these two meetings.

Specifically Sady listed briefly some of the ways that local government can play a part in national development.[1]

(*a*) "decongesting government at the centre and thereby freeing national leaders from onerous details and unnecessary involvement in local issues, and facilitating co-ordination and expediting action at the local level;

(*b*) increasing the people's understanding and support of social and economic development activities and, as a result, gaining the benefit of their own contribution to these activities, and of personal and group adjustments to needed changes;

(*c*) making programmes to foster social and economic betterment at the local level more realistic and lasting;

(*d*) training people in the art of self-government; and

(*e*) strengthening national unity.

This stands as a list of the virtues of decentralizing power to local authorities for the purposes of national development.

The task of decentralization of power to local government is, however, a difficult one. In the same article, Sady indicates that both conferences recognized that "only local authorities which are capable of making effective use of discretionary power and financial independence are capable of fulfilling the purpose of local government".[2] This statement raises a serious question concerning the capability of traditionally established, structured and empowered local governments to fulfill even their traditional purposes without support from

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Dr. Gorvine is Professor of Political Science at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, and Executive Director of its Research Centre in Comparative Politics and Administration and this article is a modified version of the Paper he presented, at Ankara, in February, 1965, to the CENTO Conference on the role of Local Government in National Development.

[1] Emil J. Sady, "*Improvement of Local Government and Administration for Development Purposes*" Journal of Local Administration Overseas. Vol. 1, No. 31, July, 1962, p. 138.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

the central government. Frustrated in this process, they certainly have not been able to conceive of the new problems with which they should be attempting to cope, in an era of national development.

To state it directly, social disorganization and political instability have been an unfortunate by-product of national development. Ameliorating their social and political consequences can and should be the new purposes of local government. This requires the technical skill and guidance of the agencies of the central government to move in this new direction. In this way local government can make its most significant contribution to the national development.

A problem of tradition and definition

To the village peasant, local government has never been an institution of much significance nor one which he could distinguish in his own mind from the provincial or central governments. The traditional image of government, whether local or central, in developing countries has been made the product of two officials; the police officer and the tax collector. To the village peasant, the police came either to punish him or to jail him; the tax collector came to take his money away and he saw nothing tangible in return. This was not only true where there was a colonial power intent on using the resources of the country, but was also just as true of an autocratic indigenous regime whose leadership may have been composed of persons of another tribal origin. It is no surprise that the average citizen in developing countries, therefore, is fearful of government. In order for local government to play its part in national development, this image must be altered, and can best be altered by the development of significant institutions of local government.

Local government is a term which applies to different institutions in different countries. In Turkey provincial and local governments are much entwined. In Pakistan, local government is emerging as a significant part of the now famous Basic Democracy System. Iran has yet seriously to move towards significant local institutions. Local government is not the same in rural and urban areas. The government institutions of the cities of Istanbul, Teheran or Karachi cannot be compared to those of the villages of Balgat, or Telighati. Local government must be established appropriate to its environment, sharply defined as to form and function.

Local government consists, after all, of those institutions of government which are closest to the people, constitutionally, legally and physically, whether the area is rural or urban. It may exist in different forms with different sets of powers, functions and responsibilities.

Though it may carry on a variety of functions, local government can only do what the national government permits. The national government in the nature of things sets the limits to local government. The powers of local government, moreover, will be reflected not in the pious comments of government officers, but rather in the specific delegation of powers legal, financial, and administrative, from the central government.

The central government must, therefore, be powerful enough to govern. It must feel itself secure in its own sovereignty. Then it can undertake the development of local government as a formal institution of the governmental apparatus. Once established, local governments can be utilized to cope with two of the major by-products of development – social disorganization and political instability.

Social disorganization and political instability

National development is a slow, painful and disruptive process, a major result of which is social disorganization and political instability. The inertia of centuries of stability is shaken. Industrialization and urbanization contribute to the process by attracting people from the villages to the overcrowded slums of the cities. Modern communication and transportation broaden horizons, resulting in rising expectations, particularly of the new city dweller, but also of the villager. The more rapid the development, the more pressing the problem of social disorganization and political instability for the developing country.

Social disorganization modifies the attitudes of people, the relationship between people, and the relationship of people to existing institutions. Traditional attitudes, the result of fear, itself a product of ignorance, poverty and disease, begin to change. Attitudes toward oneself change. Concepts of the equality of man find their way to the villages. Caste and class distinctions are disrupted. Ambitions develop and man's attitude toward work is altered. Barbara Ward, in describing the man of the traditional society, put it this way: "It is simply a fact of human nature that you do not get what you do not want, and you do not work for what you cannot imagine."[3] But times change. Fear gives way to hope. Ignorance begins to disappear. But the change is discontinuous and uneven and therefore disruptive.

Personal relationships begin to shift also. The relationship of the individual to his family is altered. The extended family weakens. The control of parents over children lessens. The economic role of women in society, for centuries the same, is modified. Relationships between men and women, husbands and wives change. Caste and class relationships are transformed.

A major aspect of social disorganization is the inevitable redistribution of power in the society. For some, there will be major gains in social status and position. For others, national development may mean a decrease in their social position, financial resources and political power. The landed aristocracy begins to give way to the new industrial élite. Young men from the villages use the educational process as a ladder to climb to a higher position in society. They seem uncouth to the old élite and perhaps they are, but their children will not be. Once they move into positions of political and financial power, they may continue to keep the doors open to others or they may attempt to close them behind them.

Finally the relationship of individuals to the existing social and economic institution is modified as a result of social disorganization. As education expands, caste and class distinctions decrease. Merit rather than family background becomes the measure of a man. The economic system begins to demand workers, and peasants leave the villages to man the new factories. A new proletariat emerges, concentrated largely in the major cities. Rising expectations result in economic shortages which in turn cause civil strife. In this fashion is social disorganization a product of national development.

A major consequence of social disorganization is political instability. Development, no matter how rapid, is too slow, for this is truly a time of the revolution of rising expectations. The young men in the colleges and universities riot in the streets. Workers in the new factories organize and learn the weapons of the strike and the boycott. Irresponsible politicians emerge to speak for various

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[3] Barbara Ward, *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations* (New York: W. W. Morton & Co., 1962), p. 87.

interests and to play upon the political instability and the strivings for power of the various groups in the society. One need only illustrate that the major cities of the developing world have seen both the riots and the irresponsible politicians.

Political instability in a developing country is largely a product of a struggle for power among four groups. (1) The traditional élite usually made up of the landed aristocracy of wealthy, educated families who cling to power handed to them by a colonial power or a ruling monarch. (2) The army, usually made up of two groups, the senior officers who seek some change but with stability, and the junior officers more radical who are impatient for changes and more willing to pay the price of instability. (3) The new intelligentsia – the newly educated technicians, administrators, and intellectuals in and out of government who seek changes, but are in many instances politically impotent, divided and unaware of how to bring it about. (4) The workers and peasants, usually ignored – unorganized for effective political action except by fringe groups who operate on the periphery of the political system. The art of government in a developing country is to move forward toward national development while maintaining a balance among these contending forces. At the national level the game of politics is this struggle and it is reflected only to a small degree at the local levels of government; its consequences found largely in the urban areas and less so in the rural areas where the masses are still inarticulate.

The contributions of local government to national development

Local governmental institutions can be vital instruments of national policy in easing social disorganization and one of its major consequences, political instability. First they must be strengthened as instruments of national policy. Local government institutions must consciously be brought into such programmes as Ataturk's village institute programme which sought to train teachers for the village in institutes in the rural areas of Turkey, or the Academy for Village Development programme at Comilla, East Pakistan, which sought to develop rural leadership in all fields, from co-operative agricultural development to family planning.

Local government institutions of a formal character need to be developed to institutionalize many of these various programmes. At the present time, many of them are *ad hoc*, organized in a variety of ways, bypassing in many cases the existing local governments and therefore in effect even undermining them. The Rural Works Programme in East Pakistan is an example of an effort to involve the peasants in a major self-help programme and to tie it into the establishment of the Circle Officer as a provincial government official operating in the rural area. In spite of this characterization as a provincial government official, he works closely with the Basic Democracies in his area and serves as a bridge between Government and the Basic Democracies.

In Pakistan the Basic Democracies should be considered a formal part of government, strengthened with adequate powers of administrative direction and financial independence. As a formal part of government they should receive technical support in the form of government officials deputed to them and funds allocated to them for specific purposes.

Once the formal institutions have been strengthened, local leadership, which through these very institutions will involve the people in the process of change, can be developed. A major problem in developing countries is the implementation of national decisions in far-flung areas of the country. Local government, by involving them in decision-making can gain the people's support in the

implementation of these programmes. Opposition can thereby be forestalled, and what might have been conflict can be channelled in a constructive direction. The support of local leadership provides the national government with access to the people, where they can use all the means at their disposal to promote the acceptance of change with a minimum of social and political instability. Education and training can be provided for these leaders so as to develop in them the capacity to provide the new leadership for the new nation. The local leaders are co-opted as a part of the new élite.

As the local leaders begin to set a pattern for change they will be joined by the mass of the peasantry. The requirements of operating even simple governmental programmes will bring about an increased sense of time, accuracy and responsibility. Education will develop inquisitive minds; information about the world outside will develop needs never before felt. The local leaders will have the opportunity to carry the mass of the people with them in support of the decisions reached.

Institutions of local government can play this perhaps most significant role in the development of political responsibility. As formal institutions of government, they can serve as training grounds for future national leaders. Once involved in activities in their own areas, these leaders become spokesmen for the nation to the people of their own regions. Adequate local government institutions can be the bedrock on which the nation is built. Representative political institutions can start at this level and can give every part of the country a sense of involvement in the decision-making process. Only in this fashion can many of the new nations made up of people of very different origins survive. The Sind is an entity in itself and so is Baluchistan. These people not only want but are entitled to participate in those decisions which affect their very lives. At the same time the nation is supreme and must maintain its supremacy. Local community councils are an inevitable part of local government. The interchange of ideas, the suffering of disagreement without disturbance or riots, the working together and the working out of differences are all difficult lessons which can be learned through experience in the local community councils. Political responsibility thus replaces political irresponsibility.

Local government can also contribute to the development of a politically responsible and socially conscious bureaucracy. As it begins to break down the traditional class barriers, local government should begin to feed into the public service young people, who will eventually move into the higher posts. Through the massive expansion of educational facilities, skills will be developed which will provide the state with the manpower to carry out its national development programme. Local government institutions can have a significant effect on the democratization of the bureaucracy. In spite of exhortations to behave as the servants of the people rather than their masters, the public service in most developing countries has not been transformed. Responsible local institutions will provide a way for the people to influence administration. The behaviour of the civil service will gradually change to that of servant rather than master. This is not intended to limit the leadership role of the public servant; initiative and drive will be essential, and many times the public servant will be accused of acting in an autocratic fashion. If, however, he can carry the local government institutions and their leaders with him, he will also carry the people. This will bridge the gap between the making of policy at the top and the implementation of it at the local levels, resulting in a massive movement toward development.

National action necessary to support local government

A major assumption of this paper has been that the government is to operate as an agent of social change and that the significant change is change in people. Its function is to minimize social disorganization and to secure political stability in the interest of national development. Local government institutions have played and can continue to play an ever-increasing role in this, but only if the central government takes the responsibility and develops the local institutions of government as formal instruments of this policy.

This means that centralization of power must precede decentralization. No government can be expected to run the risk of a disintegration of the nation by granting too much power to local levels of government. Moreover, no local institutions can aid the development process if their energies are to be spent in promoting political disintegration. Through a centralization of power the central government provides itself with the capacity to govern.

The first step in a programme to support local government is for the central government to define in law what is local government, and what are its powers, functions, and responsibilities. This means a variety of categories of governmental laws, powers and responsibilities. Rural government systems must be distinguished from urban systems. Rapidly urbanizing areas need to be recognized and government systems established to cope with their problems. Thus would the local institutions become an integral part of the governmental fabric of the nation, and begin to play their rightful part in the development process.

The second step in the advancement of local government is the establishment of a separate Ministry of Local Government at the national level, whose primary function is to foster and nurture the embryonic institutions of local government. This cannot be done through a Ministry of the Interior, particularly if the central police functions are contained therein. The philosophy of the agency, the type of training, the type of individuals who make good police officials, would not be the type of official that would do the job of fostering and advancing local government. Finally the image of this Ministry with the people, because of its largely police and tax collection functions, is such as to set insurmountable handicaps of mistrust and doubt in the way of its officials. A new Ministry would be able to develop the trust necessary to enlist the support of the people for local government.

A third step is for this Ministry to establish a Central Local Government Service which would be organized, staffed and trained by the Ministry. Its main function would be to provide the technical support for the newly empowered and expanded units of local government. Officers from other technical services such as agriculture, engineering and education would be attached to the Local Government Service to serve in various local areas, advancing by promotion from one position to another, from one area to another, and with no post barred to them on merit to the top of the technical ladder of their particular profession. Training programmes for these officials would be established, as well as for local political leaders. Both sets of officials would be able to work hand in hand for the development of the area. Finally, the allocation of funds for local government should be handled through this Ministry to encourage local initiative and to develop the confidence of the people in the capacity of this Ministry to help them meet their most urgent problems. Once this has been accomplished, officers from the central government can move into the field and develop local institutions which will participate in the decisions dealing with local problems and affecting local areas. Furthermore,

they can build up the central government organization so that it can offer technical assistance, in the form of attached personnel and adequate financial support, to the local institutions to engage in such activities as public works projects, bridge and road construction, the drilling of wells for water and irrigation purposes, health, education, and welfare programmes, and other types of projects. In the process, local personnel can be trained to undertake these tasks themselves and will be able to continue working for the local government institutions. Attention to these problems will show the people the benefits of development and increase their willingness to tax themselves to continue such projects. A matching of technical skill and funds from the central government with local labour and funds where available, raised by the local political leaders who have also been trained by the Ministry of Local Government, offers a joint and co-operative approach to the problem of national development.

In order to achieve the objective of releasing the energy of the people and directing it into constructive channels, a fourth step for the central government is the development of a political ideology which it can use for these purposes. The ideology should be indigenous to the country, utilize all the drama and slogans which move people, and yet develop political stability and responsibility among the people of the country. A political party or parties are the instruments through which this ideology must be developed. The danger among emotional and elemental people is that they will be unable to cope with the conflict which results from social change. The political system must be developed sufficiently to teach them to do so and to maintain the stability and sanity of the community. This is the role of the political system and the party system in a developing country, a rather different role from that in a developed country. Local political institutions must thus be built and tied into an adult education system which receives support from the Ministry of Local Government. These local political institutions must however draw their sustenance from the local communities and their leaders if they are to be significant in the life of the locality. This is the challenge to the new Ministry of Local Government.

Finally, by gaining popular support and meeting the pressing needs of the citizenry, rapid development will make for a greater degree of political stability. Gradually increasing local participation and decentralization of power to local people now trained to do public tasks will generate new energy among them, and direct it into constructive channels dealing with local problems. This will free the central government for the larger concerns of the State – planning and implementing agricultural and industrial development.

If the social sciences teach us anything about development, it is that development must come from within a country itself and from the will of its own people. Involvement of the people and their development is the first order of business. Local government institutions offer us an institutionalized method of involving the people in the development effort by bridging the gap between the huge, awesome, bureaucracy of the central government and the peasants who for many years have been the victims of this bureaucracy.

The ultimate of challenges to the central government is thus to lessen social disorganization and political instability. This will release the energies of proud and intelligent people using their local government institutions to make a breakthrough towards development. In the final analysis, this is the responsibility of the national government and of nationhood itself.

Decision-making Case Studies in Administrative Training

by C. M. Chadwick

In *Administrative Behaviour*[1] Professor Herbert Simon examines the distinction between the 'factual' and 'value' elements in decision-making and shows how this clarifies the broader distinction commonly made between questions of policy and questions of administration. He points out that the selective or 'value' element affects the process of ascertaining and organising the facts in a given situation in such a way that one cannot properly speak of 'correct' decisions, only of what may eventually be seen to be 'good' ones. Arising from this are the assumptions that while the laying down of objectives and the definition of values lie in the sphere of policy-making, "the *function* of deciding may be distributed very differently in the body politic from the *final authority* for resolving disputed decisions",[2] and secondly that "the task of deciding pervades the entire organisation quite as much as the task of 'doing' – indeed, it is integrally tied up with the latter".[3]

Professor Simon's argument is a useful theoretical framework for a discussion of training in decision-making. It is accepted that the foremost emphasis of this training should be on logical thinking and clarity of expression. Lord Bridges puts 'the power of rapid analysis' at the top of his list of the qualities of a general administrator. "He must", he says, "be able to grasp all the facts in a complicated situation; to sort them out and set them in their proper relation one to another, and present the whole to his Minister in the fewest possible words."[4] But analytical methods by themselves, however carefully formulated for training purposes, tend to fall short of what is required of them. Whereas at one extreme there is the decision that is not a decision at all but the choice of a course of action based on an incomplete analysis, at the other extreme is the situation where knowledge and arrangement of the 'facts' are so confused by probabilities, conjecture and questions of 'value' that no analytical procedure, however thorough, can contain it. In these terms it should also be possible to identify with some precision such important imponderables in the objectives of administrative training as unwillingness to accept responsibility, a lack of decisiveness and imagination, and the tendency to shed the burden of uncertainty by constantly sending files sideways or upwards 'for decision'. What is involved is exploring the scope of analytical methods in dealing with administrative problems in relation to the nature and process of decision-making as a whole. Underlying this is the need to recognize that it is not enough in a developing country such as Zambia with its need for a dynamic local public service to

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[1] "*Administrative Behaviour: A Study of Decision Making Processes in Administrative Organisation.*" Macmillan (New York). 2nd edition, 1957.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[4] Lord Bridges, *Administration: What is it? And how can it be learnt?* in A. Dunsire (ed.), *The Making of an Administrator*, Manchester University Press, 1956, p. 12.

aim in training merely at imparting skills or manufacturing competent cogs in a smooth-running machine. This may be an exacting enough task but it is a minimal one. If efficiency can rightly be considered as the *sine qua non* of a good public service it is not its ultimate criterion. Real effectiveness demands broader definitions of what is desirable and possible and it is one of the jobs of training to discover in the right social and political context what these definitions are.

The main purpose of the first case file used on the administrative courses at the Staff Training College is to explore the purely schematic potential of analytical method in dealing with an administrative problem. Known as the 'Ngoma' case, it was reproduced from an actual Ministry file with names and places altered and concerns a civil claim made against government as the result of an accident in which a government driver, acting on the instructions of a district officer, tries to drive a privately-owned lorry and trailer back to district Headquarters from the roadside where it is a danger to traffic. In doing so he misses his gears on a bend and causes damage to the lorry, the trailer and its load. (The original driver had been arrested for being drunk in charge.) The owner of the vehicle, Ngoma, is now claiming against government not only for the cost of the damage but also for loss of business – a total of about £2,000. Students are confronted with the problem (or rather with the distorted version of it given by Ngoma's solicitor) and without guidance are asked to write down what, as Assistant Secretaries in the Ministry concerned, they think about it and what they would do next. The result is a wide variety of answers – everything from making the district officer pay the whole claim in person to referring the matter to the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner! The most common mistake is to be side-tracked by the events surrounding the arrest of the drunken driver and by whether the district officer did the right thing in ordering the lorry to be driven away (which in itself might make a useful short preliminary case study) whereas the real problem is whether or not government is liable and if so how much for.

Answers are then freely discussed in class and when confusion and disagreement are at their height the group is asked to stand back from itself and take a look at what has been happening. It is pointed out that for fifteen administrators to give fifteen different answers to the same problem is hardly more satisfactory than it would be for fifteen doctors to give fifteen different diagnoses to the same illness and prescribe treatment accordingly. This leads to the conclusion that a doctor, or a scientist or a criminal investigator, have been disciplined to pursue their enquiries by means of established and systematic procedures and that it would be as well if administrators could find some way of doing the same.

At this point the DESMA drill is introduced. This is a simple analytical formula for use in the early stages of instruction in how to approach administrative problems. The word represents the initial letter of each step of the analytical process: Determine the problem; Establish the known facts; Seek answers to the unknown facts; Make deductions; and Action to be taken. The drill is then applied point by point to the first 'Ngoma' exercise – the aim being to set out and elucidate all the factors in their proper relation to one another in order to clear the path for future action. This is done by question and answer (the analysis is both written up on the blackboard and handed out as a specimen answer) and students are then asked to turn the analysis into an internal minute to a senior officer.

There is nothing new in codifying the basic steps of logical thinking in this way. The DESMA drill is less detailed and not as widely applicable as, say, the more familiar approach described by G. M. Hood in the B.I.M. booklet *Case Study Practice*.[5] This approach has more steps (Review the situation; Select objective; Check facts; Diagnose causes; Consider alternative lines of action; Select best solutions and act; and Check results) and its scope is broader but the DESMA drill is intended only as a 'breaking-in' technique in the early stages of training in order to put across in elementary form the usefulness of exploiting to the full *a* method of clear thinking and expression. Its application reveals that while students had seemed at first to be making decisions, a full and thorough analysis narrows down the field of choice to a point where certain definite courses of action alone are possible. The analysis throws up the 'decision' or automatically leads into it.

The first exercise is followed by the issue of a new set of folios which take the problem a stage further. Another written exercise is handed out to which the DESMA drill is again applied in class in close and schematic detail on the basis of the first analysis. As the file develops a variety of different exercises are introduced – writing an external and an internal minute, drafting a letter to solicitors, deciding whether or not to pay some invoices, preparing a memorandum to the Standing Finance Committee and calling for further information. Since Ngoma is about to be sued for bankruptcy there is always need to act with a sense of urgency and one situation involves a sense of timing. Other important points which arise are when to delegate responsibility, when to put the file up to a higher level and when to refer it to another department.

Although the 'Ngoma' file is only concerned with a single issue, if a somewhat complicated one, it is gone into, particularly in the first two exercises, in what is admittedly rather laborious detail. But the aim in handling it in this way is to emphasise the primary need for thoroughness in administrative activity. The DESMA drill, and this must be stressed, is not intended to be a foolproof guide to the solving of administrative problems. Rather it is intended as scaffolding to be knocked away once the lesson has been learnt. Quite obviously many problems cannot be approached in such a cut-and-dried fashion and most do not throw up a single tidy 'solution' once they have been examined, however thoroughly. The 'value' element can so easily upset any too rigid attempt to reduce the uncertain to the certain. Students are told this and are asked not to think of the DESMA drill as a kind of administrative panacea. What they are asked to do after grappling in the dark with the 'Ngoma' case and then dealing with it logically, is to look at all problems as capable of analysis and presentation in a methodical manner. All the later exercises are made very much easier by having the two DESMA drill analyses reproduced and included in students' files for future reference. In this way nothing is forgotten and all the factors as they change or develop or fall away can be grasped as a whole.

Training in another kind of analysis is given by means of the 'Saponde' case study. This was also reproduced from an actual Ministry file with names and places changed and concerns the loss of £30 at a district Headquarters. Three officers are involved in the loss – the district commissioner who has overall responsibility for the control of the station accounts, a newly appointed cadet who has been put in charge of the accounts and the safe, and a district assistant who 'borrowed' the key of the safe to make a payment from it of £900 and who was given the job of instructing the cadet in accounting procedure. The loss is

[5] Published by the British Institute of Management in 1960.

presumed to have occurred over a period of about six weeks and there are a number of factors which make it impossible to pinpoint exactly when. Students are given details of the circumstances together with the officers' exculpatory statements and are asked to assess the situation and apportion the blame. This again is a written exercise which is commented on individually and discussed in full session. The discussion is always lively and generates strong partisan feelings for and against the three officers concerned. When the moment arrives for looking at the problem dispassionately and setting out an analysis on the blackboard, it is not simply a question this time of creating order out of chaos by arranging the factors in some schematic and logical sequence but also of evaluating them. And the process of evaluation which shapes the decision does not only come at the end of the analysis when all the factors have been dealt with but throughout it.

As with 'Ngoma' the 'Saponde' file develops further and two or three written exercises are introduced which are discussed in class and written up on the backboard. The main issue remains the same but the facts are given a different emphasis at the Ministerial level and at a meeting of the Losses of Public Money Committee. One of the most valuable lessons to be learnt from this case study is the need for objectivity. The conflict of opinion illustrates vividly how easy it is to get carried away by certain types of situation and how emotional involvement so often leads to a clouding of the judgement. The lesson to be learnt here is that a confused mixture of facts, feelings, hypotheses and opinions can and must be subjected to a methodical analysis before a conclusion can be reached which commands the confidence of one's superiors and colleagues; and such a conclusion alone can inspire the self-confidence that comes from knowing that one's case has been soundly argued and presented, and that nothing relevant has been left out nor given false emphasis. One of the causes of failure to accept responsibility can be described as 'lack of self-confidence' – an elusive concept but one which training must take into account as something much more than a fortuitous inhibition of character.

The initial analysis of the 'Saponde' study takes the form of setting out in turn the connection of each officer with the loss, the action he should have taken in terms of Financial Regulations, the action he did take, the reasons or excuses he gives for his actions and a final column for remarks. As with the 'Ngoma' analyses this is done with the closest attention to detail and in such a way that the problem is systematically set out as a basis for evaluation. The student will often admit that as a result of the analysis and of hearing the views of other students he has changed his mind – and so too may the instructor in spite of the Specimen Answer! The purpose of the study is to discover and experience in another way the range and limitations of formal analysis but this time there is a larger dimension of issues which escape treatment as matters of fact and raise the more complex questions of value.

As the course progresses a number of other case files are used which by one means or another underline and extend the lessons that have been learnt from 'Ngoma' and 'Saponde'. These concern such matters as an illegal township on the outskirts of Lusaka and whether rent should be collected from its inhabitants; the collection of arrears of poll tax on repeal of the Tax Ordinance; the introduction of Compulsory Education Regulations; and the building of a workshop and slipway on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. These files are handled less inflexibly and meticulously than the earlier two files and progressively bring out the widest possible range of inter-related factors which

bear on the nature and process of decision-making. Although by this time the DESMA drill or the Saponde-type analysis have become little more than a background of reference rather than a formalized thinking procedure, the habits acquired from putting them to use should have developed into second nature.

Towards the end of the course students are given a file which in terms of the 'fact-value' distinction presents a decision-making situation at the opposite end of the scale from the 'Ngoma' case. This is a 'written' case study called 'South-Eastern Province Development Centre' with the single exercise of deciding in which of three districts in an imaginary Province to site a new all-purpose Development Centre. The present position is that the Minister has announced that a decision must and will be made on the siting of the Centre within the next few days and students are put in the shoes of an Assistant Secretary who has been asked to assess the situation and put up a recommendation accordingly. A mass of information is given about each of the districts, of greater or less relevance, and offset in such a way that a logical decision based merely on an analysis of the factors is impossible to arrive at. The best that can be aimed at is a 'good' decision in the knowledge that its goodness can never be confirmed. In other words the 'value' element predominates and is possibly enhanced by the fictitious nature of the problem. Students are asked to make up their minds and argue their case as convincingly as they can. They cannot hope to make a 'correct' or 'incorrect' choice; they can only aim to formulate their views with an imaginative and positive awareness that the elements of 'fact' and 'value' are too interfused to be reduced, say, to lists of advantages and disadvantages.

This is an example of the case study without a solution or conclusion either in reality or as an exercise. One consequence of this is that it causes feelings of lack of assurance which themselves are realistic. After the certainties of previous case studies where comparison can be made with what actually happened and there are the signposts of an inevitable reality directing the development of events, students are now thrust into a situation where the unknown undermines the known at every turn and the only assurances are those they must find for themselves. It is of course a basic aim of this case study that after the written exercise and discussion in syndicates and full session the implications of administrative situations of this sort should be brought out into the open.

Although it must be admitted that this case file suffers from the shortcomings of being 'written' mentioned by R. J. H. Chambers in his article in the July 1964 number of this journal,[6] these are largely outweighed by the opportunity for exploiting experience of the unfamiliar and for taking in a wider range of material for discussion about decision-making in general. The confrontation with a complex set of facts, however imaginary (and they are really no more than a collection of possible or actual facts selected from real life) prevents the discussion from becoming too woolly and theoretical. (The ideal case study in this context is the kind mentioned by Mr. Chambers which is still 'alive' at the time of its use on a training course. It is topical, it is realistic, it is unresolved, and students are actually participating in its resolution).

An attempt has been made in this paper to sketch an outline of the progressive use of case studies in decision-making in relation to the basic aims of training. It is a movement, slow and plodding at first, from situations which require

[6] *The Use of Case Studies in Public Administration Training in Kenya*, R. J. H. Chambers, J.L.A.O Vol. III, No. 3, July, 1964, p. 169.

little more than an exclusively logical approach with its yardstick of thoroughness and clarity, to situations where these must be supplemented by the more subtle and extensive qualities of judgement, imagination and discrimination of values. This is equally a conscious process in terms of training technique and students should share in it. Half the value of training of this kind is lost if students are simply invited to deal with problems without being helped to understand what makes problems what they are. Decision-making is not only an applied skill that can be taught like any other by showing and doing – though it is partly that and grows with experience – it is also a process that can be examined like any other as a means of elucidating and defining the real nature of the difficulties which the administrator faces in his day-to-day work.

A word about the conducting of case studies: Much has been written about case study Method. As F. B. G. Whitaker has said in his article in *Case Study Practice:* "There is not one 'case method' then, but many. Amassing and using cases is much less important than choosing or developing a method suited to one's teaching requirements and one's teaching abilities".[7] To take this further it is suggested that one's method should change as the purpose of a series of case studies changes in the way described. One way of looking at this is in terms of the argument about the extent to which an instructor should 'steer' discussion. The extreme, and perhaps orthodox, view is the one expressed by Messrs. Glover and Hower and quoted by Miss Avice Turnbull in *The Use of Case Study in the British Civil Service.*[8] This view is that "the instructor who tries to teach in the sense of directing the discussion towards foregone conclusions will seriously interfere with the learning process". Miss Turnbull suggests that the instructor's role can be seen as that of a chairman who gives shape to the discussion, encourages, sums up and so on. On the other hand there is something to be said in favour of a fairly deliberate and close guiding of discussion in the first stages of an administrative training course towards a prepared presentation of the factors involved in a given situation – or in other words a 'school solution'. This view can be defended in the light of Miss Turnbull's statement that "the conclusion of any one case is ephemeral but the thinking processes are premanent" for what in fact is usually being led towards is not a 'solution' but the imparting of information about *how to reach* a solution – as with the 'Ngoma' and 'Saponde' exercises. In short, the amount of direction the instructor gives can be progressively reduced as part of the developing and deepening purpose for which a series of case studies is designed. This is not merely a development from the simple to the complex but a gradual diffusion of the 'factual' element from the quantitative and clear-cut to the qualitative and unknown; and this can be accompanied by a complementary withdrawal of the instructor from the position of guide to one of chairman. At the same time one must agree with Mr. Chambers that problems and exercises must be handled by students individually and not only in syndicate. As has been said, one of the most important features of administrative practice on the job is the need for self-confidence and the soundness of judgement on which it is founded. Training can only stimulate these qualities if it constantly obliges the individual student to wrestle with problems 'in lonely isolation'. One of the virtues of the training situation is that the individual is given the chance to compare and assess his own work with what actually happened, with 'staff' or 'specimen' answers and with the performance and experience of his fellows. In this way

[7] British Institute of Management, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[8] Public Administration, Vol. XXXV (Summer, 1957).

the collective, unifying effect of the training course goes hand in hand with the expanding and enriching of the individual's skills and resources – in fact with the shaping of his total personality.

It is of course impossible to lay down hard and fast rules for training in decision-making and practical administration generally. Circumstances frequently make it necessary to change the way in which a case study is handled from course to course. The problems may stay the same but the ways of dealing with them will evolve out of students' needs and interests and the instructor's experience, however much the path may have been plotted beforehand. Even the 'Ngoma' case file with its built-in rigidity of approach leaves a lot of room for manoeuvre and is continually being revised and modified in the light of experience. But it is suggested that a broad framework can be devised for the use of case material in decision-making and that this rests on certain guiding principles which can be formulated in relation to the ultimate objectives of administrative training. The framework is the progressive application of techniques deriving from the definition of what is involved in decision-making in its wider and more theoretical meaning. The principles are interwoven with the needs of a new nation for a civil service composed of people who not only know what to do and how to do it but who are also able to carry out their duties effectively in the best sense of that word – decisively, imaginatively and with a disciplined independence of judgement. If these principles are lost sight of, training will have lost much of its own effectiveness to the safety of a limiting and functional definition of what is possible in terms of what is impossible.

Guinea's School of Public Administration

by Brian Weinstein

Organization

The *Ecole Supérieure d'Administration* of the Republic of Guinea is now in its second year. Other schools and syllabuses preceded the present ESA just as earlier schools in Nigeria, Kenya, Ivory Coast and elsewhere had syllabuses for civil servants before the present Institutes of Public Administration and *Ecoles Nationales d'Administration* were established.

Prior to Guinean independence in 1958 an *Ecole Territoriale d'Administration* had been set up. By a decree in November 1958 this school was transformed into the Guinean *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* and was placed under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Civil Service. In 1960 the ENA was reorganized, and the syllabus then consisted of what was called a six-month *stage* for middle-ranking personnel; the courses emphasized accounting and basic concepts of law. Correspondence and special accelerated courses were set up when this was possible.

The ENA was transformed for the academic year 1963-1964 by presidential decree and the present *Ecole Supérieure d'Administration* opened at the end of 1963 not far from the centre of Conakry. One of its three buildings is used for classrooms and offices; another is the dining room and recreation room; the third building, designed for use as a dormitory, was constructed during the first year.

The stated goal of this public institution is to 'form' high ranking functionaries for the Guinean administration. 'Form' in French does not, of course, mean the same thing as 'train' in English. The goal is to provide the students with a general as well as with a more specialized education – to help them become well-educated, reflective individuals willing to and capable of serving their country possibly in several different positions during their careers. All students must have already completed the secondary level of education and must have passed both parts of the *baccalauréat*, which is equivalent to the General Certificate of Education – Advanced Level and Ordinary Level – in English-speaking countries.

Like most of the other schools of administration in Africa the status of the ESA has changed according to the way in which the government and its services have been organized. During 1963-1964 the school was attached to the Ministry of State and then to the *Ministére du Contrôle Administratif;* in 1964-1965 it is considered to be under the control of several ministries which exercise control through a *Conseil d'Administration* with representatives from the ministries and services concerned. A status different from that of other educational institutions and a status which is perhaps not fixed once and for all is typical of ENA's and IPA's in Africa.

The *Ecole Supérieure d'Administration* is independent of all other educational establishments within Guinea and without, but in 1963-1964 it was aided by Boston University. The latter was the executing agent for the Agency for

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International Development which had signed an agreement with the government of Guinea to provide material and technical assistance to the school. The role of Boston University in Guinea was not unlike that of the University of Pittsburgh at Zaria and that of Syracuse University at the Kenya Institute of Administration. The assistance consisted in the sending of two instructors to contribute to the teaching syllabus; a secretary; a business manager to help in the running of the school; and a librarian on a short assignment. Material aid took the form of books, library equipment, classroom furniture, and some office equipment.

Although the ESA has had no formal connections with other French language schools of administration, its syllabus is similar to theirs and has been inspired by the French *licence* in law syllabus.

Syllabus and curriculum

The current syllabus of the *Ecole* is primarily pre-service and pre-entry. An *ad hoc* in-service syllabus for accountants in state enterprises was set up in 1964 under the aegis of the school and was run by one of the professors, but it was not considered part of the regular syllabus. Classes were not even held at the school. Correspondence courses might be added to the syllabus again.

This is a four-year syllabus for lycée graduates named by presidential decree; graduates will receive the diploma of the *Ecole Supérieure d'Administration* which is supposed to be the equivalent of the French *Licence d'Enseignement Supérieur* which one would obtain at the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris. The school operates according to the schedule of the general academic year in Guinea although students are expected to participate in a *stage* or internship for about one month in the vacation period between July and September. The *stage* takes place in the various ministries. *Stagiaires* are given small tasks and are permitted to examine the way in which the ministry operates.

According to the organizing decree, students are separated into three general sections within the school: general administration, economic and financial affairs, and judiciary. During 1963-1964 only two sections, general administration and judiciary, were used; in 1964-1965 another section, police, has been added, but it is for the moment attached to the judiciary section. In 1963-1964 there were 14 students in general administration and 6 in judiciary. In 1964-1965 the same proportions have been kept, with three students in the new police division.

During the first two years most students follow the same courses without regard to section. Courses were first grouped into general education and law and economics; they are now grouped into humanities and the social sciences on the one hand, and economic and juridical sciences on the other. Subjects taught under the title of general education (*culture générale*) or humanities and social sciences are similar to those in other French language schools of administration: philosophy, sociology, history, geography, French (literature), English. Courses in law and economics are similar to those given in other ENA's as well: civil law, administrative law, constitutional law, penal law (the second year for the judicial-police section only), international law, plus political economy and accounting (the second year for general administration and economic-financial sections only).

Some specialization begins in the third year. Students in all sections are required to take the same nine courses in humanities and the same four in economics and juridical sciences. In addition, students in general administration

must study third-year accounting and private international law, students in economic and financial affairs must take three advanced courses in public and private accounting, financial mathematics, and private international law, which they take in common with those in general administration. Future civil servants in the judiciary-police section must follow courses in civil procedure, criminal procedure, and 'special' penal law.

In the fourth year only five subjects in humanities and social sciences are required for all sections. Two of these are specifically about Guinea. Other courses are followed by students in one section or in two sections. For example, it is necessary for the general administration section to study private international law, special penal law, accounting, means of execution plus one course – general history – in common with students from the economic and financial section and another course – maritime law – with the judicial section. Students in economic and financial affairs study advanced political economy, private economy, and statistics; students in the judicial section engage in practical exercises concerning the courts and the offices of national security.

In the course of an academic year students follow about 13 different courses. The first year five courses last the whole year, seven last two of the terms into which the school year is divided, and one lasts only one term. Therefore, a student has about ten different subjects to study at any given time. Fourth-year students in general administration will have only four courses which last the whole year; six will last for two terms and two for one term. Therefore, a student will have about nine different subjects to study at any given time. In addition, candidates for the diploma will be required to write a thesis during their last year.

Emphasis in these formal courses tends to be on the theoretical aspects of a given subject partly because *stages* or internships during vacation months provide opportunities for practical on-the-job learning. As in many other ENA's and IPA's the number of hours in class is about 30 hours per week.

Teaching methodology has varied considerably and standard French textbooks are used in most courses. Sessions of practical exercises or *travaux pratiques* have been integrated into the normal timetable, visits have been made to court, industrial installations such as that of Fria, and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Films have been shown occasionally, and an overhead projector has been used in economics and accounting. Case methods were used in economics, international law, and in civil law.

An interesting attempt to influence work habits was also tried. Students in the international law class were divided into what were called *équipes de travail* of four members each. Members of each *équipe* were required to work on a problem together. A general theme, the nature of international conflict, was chosen, and each *équipe* examined a particular conflict between two nations. Each student was required to examine a particular element of the conflict, such as the point of view of one of the parties based on comment in newspapers from that country as well as on books and neutral observers. The members of the *équipe* worked together at all times. One student was elected head of the group and it was he who made the report to the rest of the class. The grade earned by this rapporteur was the grade given to each member of his *équipe*. At the same time each student selected a particular country whose politics he was supposed to follow during the year in order to be able to apply theoretical information supplied in the lectures to specific situations.

The *équipes* were adopted by other professors who assigned collective reading

and discussion projects. In addition, the countries chosen by the individual students were also used by the same students in reports on different subjects for the constitutional law and economics courses. Such co-operation was facilitated by the considerable informal communication among the various professors of different nationalities.

Students at the *Ecole* have two libraries at their disposal: that of the *Institut de Recherche* (formerly the Guinean branch of IFAN) and that of the school itself. The Institut has a large selection of books of a general nature and many newspapers and journals. The library of the *Ecole Supérieure d'Administration* has more than 1,500 books in French. The collection contains many of the basic texts of French law which are protected by an air-conditioning and de-humidifying system. The classification used is a modified Dewey decimal system set up by a professional librarian.

During the first six months the library was open in 1964, *Ecole* students read an average of 20 books each in addition to the books assigned for the courses. Teachers and students from other schools in Conakry are permitted to use their open stack library.

Students and instructors

There were 20 students at the ESA during 1963-1964 and 36 during 1964-1965 – 19 in the first year and 17 in the second year. The goal is 100 in the four-year programme. All of these 36 are of Guinean nationality from the four major regions of the country. They generally live in the school, receive scholarships for their room and board, and get a small sum of money each month for their personal needs.

All first-year students are required to sign the following statement:

> I the undersigned, Student at the *Ecole Superieure d'Administration* commit myself to serve in the Guinean Administration for ten years (10) after I am graduated by the school.

Anyone who refuses to sign this statement is not permitted to continue his studies.

During the year 1963-1964 there were 12 teachers of whom three were American, two Belgian, five French, one Haitian, and one Guinean. The Guinean taught French literature, and the Americans taught economics, international law and English. The second year, 1964-1965, there are two Guineans who teach French literature and international law; one American teaches English. In 1963-1964 with the exception of the two Americans and the one Guinean all instructors were part-time. They had been engaged for the most part by the Ministry of Education to teach in other educational establishments at the secondary and higher levels and taught at the ESA in addition to their regular positions. Such instructors are paid for what are referred to as *heures supplémentaires.*

The administration of the ESA is completely Africanized. The highest administrator of the school is a lady Secretary General, the only woman head of a school of administration in Africa, if not in the whole world. Under her are a *censeur* in charge of academic matters and in residence at the school, and a *surveillant général* in charge of student discipline. The Guineans, French, and Belgians are paid by the budget of the school while the Americans were the only members of the faculty or staff to be paid from foreign funds. All members of the faculty and staff, with the exception of the *censeur* and the *surveillant général*, live away from the school.

ESA in the national context

The exact role of the ESA in providing upper or middle ranking personnel for the Guinean administration will only be determined when there are graduates in 1967. According to the organizing decree, graduates of ESA will enter at level B of the administrative hierarchy (Article 5). The ESA, in the meanwhile, is developing, experimenting, and attempting to answer the needs of a new and developing Guinea alongside other educational institutions such as the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* and the *Institut Polytechnique* to which the Soviet Union has provided considerable aid.

Like other ENA's and IPA's the Guinean school's syllabus is not fixed once and for all; it will undoubtedly change again. The basic problems it faces now are similar to those of many other African educational institutions: self-confidence concerning the value of the education one is getting and the value of the diploma one will receive; secondly, material problems in a country which has an independent currency and strict import regulations which are deemed necessary to ensure rational economic development. These are just two of the many problems such a new school faces.

For one year Boston University was able to make a modest contribution towards a solution of a few problems. Connections with an outside university, even when that university did not have the same prestige in the eyes of the Guineans as a French university would have had, aided in the growth of a feeling of self-confidence. Material aid, the nature of which was controlled by the Guineans, contributed to making the ESA a true higher level educational institution. Aid in French-speaking personnel, who always considered themselves as employees of the school as well as of Boston University, also provided another point of view and a different experience for the students which did not conflict with that of the other members of the staff.

*The District Commissioner System in British Guiana**

by C. H. Grant

I. Introduction

Within five years, 1950-1954, two visiting constitutional commissions found respectively that the system of rural local government in British Guiana was all right and all wrong. The Waddington Commission,[1] the first of them, found the system to be playing an important part in the affairs of the country. The Robertson Commission[2] of 1954 in contradicting 'the impression made upon the Waddington Commission by the system of local government did not think that local government bodies play an important part in the affairs of British Guiana', and were 'not convinced that in local affairs the village and country district councils were popular or influential amongst the people'.[3]

The first reaction to these conflicting opinions is one of surprise. The same system of local government seemed good and bad to informed observers. The surprise is startling when it is observed that these two distinct value judgements were based on the same criteria of local government, 'efficiency' and 'democracy'. For the two Commissions seem agreed that the purpose of local government was not only to get things done effectively in terms of an agreed standard, but also to be the training ground for responsible leaders at the national level. Local government does not, however, operate in a vacuum, and the conflict of opinions becomes less surprising when it is remembered that the two constitutional commissions had different terms of reference, and carried out their investigations in different political conditions.

The Waddington Commission was appointed in 1949 to review the franchise and the composition of the Legislature and of the Executive Council and other related matters, and to make recommendations for reform. Substantial changes were made in the constitution including the introduction of a ministerial system of government and provision for elected representatives to play a greater part in the running of the government. In making these changes the Commission stated that 'local government, as it is practised in British Guiana is particularly well adapted to serve as a training ground for future participation in the central legislature'.[4]

The appointment of the Robertson Commission in 1954 was on the other hand the direct outcome of the suspension of the Waddington constitution in October, 1953. In its attempt to justify the suspension and to attack as far as possible the grounds on which the Waddington Commission had recommended the 'liberal' constitution, the Commission condemned outright the system of local government. 'The whole scope of local government', the Commission wrote, 'appears to be very limited'.[5]

One of the consequences of this dismal report was the appointment of Dr. A. H.

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[1] *British Guiana Constitutional Commission* 1950-51. *Report and Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies*, 6.10.51, Col. No. 280.

[2] Cmd. 9274 (1954), *British Guiana Constitutional Commission* 1954 *Report*.

[3] *Ibid.* 21. [4] Col. No. 280, 16. [5] Cmd. 9274, 21.

Marshall in 1954 to 'enquire and report on all aspects of local government in both the rural and urban areas of the colony and to make such recommendations for reform as may be practicable and desirable'.[6] Dr. Marshall's principal recommendations included the re-organisation of areas, the provision of more adequate finance for local authorities, and the introduction of universal adult suffrage if this was maintained at the national level. The entire coastlands, including the unorganised areas and the privately owned sugar estates, were to be placed within the jurisdiction of local authorities. He recommended a single tier system of local government with the coastlands parcelled out in not more than eighteen authorities to be called Rural District Councils. With regard to finance, there were to be new sources of revenue. The proceeds of minor duties, such as cycle and shop-licences, were to be collected by, and transferred to, local authorities. For the first time, the sugar estates were to pay local rates and a levy of $2.40 per ton of sugar.[7] Provision was also made for the central government to pay rates on government property instead of giving 'administrative grants' to local authorities. Dr. Marshall also recommended a well conceived grant system which was to be equalising as well as promotional.

The main theme of his report was, however, the need to decentralise the system of local government in the rural coastal areas, and for the central government to transfer many of the local government functions to more viable local authorities. He observed that the central government, through the Local Government Board, exercised too much control over the local authorities. The Board controlled not only the raising of loans, disposal of land, and other major matters, but also had the general power to annul decisions of the local authorities. He recommended that the Board be abolished and central control be transferred to the Ministry of Local Government. On the assumption that there would be a network of large, viable, local government units, Dr. Marshall further recommended that the power and duties of local authorities should be increased. Like the two previous Commissions, Dr. Marshall seemed also to have based his case for the devolution of authority on both the 'democratic' and the 'efficiency' arguments for local government:

> "I hope that local authorities organised on the general lines I have described will provide effective, well conducted, smooth running local machines, able to do the work better and more cheaply than could direct agents of the central government. Better because local authorities run services democratically (a local government servant is more vividly aware of his political accountability than a central government servant, whose responsibility is more remote; a local government servant has his master on his doorstep). More cheaply because local authorities are multi-purpose authorities who can carry out a number of services with a single administrative organisation."[8]

These arguments inevitably led Dr. Marshall to consider the position of the District Commissioners within the local government framework in the rural coastal areas. He observed "that there is a feeling in British Guiana as elsewhere that Government through District Commissioners, excellent though it may be in many ways, is not in keeping with the ideals of a democratic state . . .".[9] In a chapter devoted to 'The Future of District Commissioners', he drew attention

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[6] A. H. Marshall, *Report on Local Government in British Guiana* (Georgetown, 1955), v. Dr. Marshall was the City Treasurer of Coventry and had in 1949 reported to the Sudan Government on Local Government in that country.

[7] $4.80 B.W.I. is equivalent to £1 sterling.

[8] Marshall Report 22. [9] *Ibid.*, 35.

to his criticism of the system in the Sudan as 'undemocratic' and 'amateurish'; a comment which he considered 'generally applicable to British Guiana', and related to any system of district administration.[10] He strongly recommended the abolition of the system on these grounds. Almost ten years have elapsed since this recommendation, but the government of British Guiana has shown little inclination to act on it. In fact, the District Commissioner's office still remains the hive of local government activity and the pivot on which District Administration in the rural areas revolves. Such an institution which has been condemned, but still remains basically intact, merits attention. This article discusses first the circumstances in which the District Commissioner system was introduced in 1932 and then attempts to appraise its working.

II. The Origins of the District Commissioner System

The District Commissioner system which was introduced in 1932 owes its origin mainly to the economic and financial situation which prevailed at the time. The economy of the country was dominated by the sugar industry. This meant that the colony's financial position varied with the fortunes of this industry. Throughout the nineteenth century the industry was extremely sensitive to the fluctuation of world market prices. In the 1880s the industry suffered one of its periods of depression. At the turn of this century economic conditions showed no appreciable improvement. Then came World War I and the recovery of the industry. The recovery was of an unhealthy kind, being due to increased world prices and not to an appreciable increase of output or reduction in production cost. When peace was restored sugar prices once more fell. Moreover, the shortage of estate labour consequent upon the cessation of immigration from India in 1917 was acutely felt. The 1920s was in consequence a period of depression for the industry.

The depression and the decreasing revenue that ensued crippled the colony financially. Its problems were increased by the burden of loan repayments, the non-existence of an income tax, and the fact that custom duties accounted for 80 per cent of the colony's revenue. By 1927 the colony's funded debt, accumulated budgetary deficits, and short-term loans totalled more than $19 million.[11]

For the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, there were two sources of immediate financial relief. One was the reduction of government expenditure by way of economy in administration, the other the grant of imperial aid. Of the former, he remarked in 1928, "our serious financial position will also probably necessitate the amalgamation with others of two or three departments, and careful enquiry will have to be made as to the practicability of this".[12]

The latter was difficult to obtain owing to constitutional and political reasons. Under a constitution inherited from the Dutch, control of the colony's finances lay not with the Imperial Government, but with the elective majority in the colony's financial assembly, the Combined Court. The British Government now demanded the control of the colony's finances as a condition of further assistance. In fact this condition had been laid down since 1914 when the British Government, in reply to the colony loan application to build a

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[10] *Ibid.*, 73.

[11] Source: C. Clementi, *A Constitutional History of British Guiana* (London, 1937), 392. The amount in $ is a rough conversion of that stated in £ in the textbook.

[12] *Minutes of Legislative Council*, 21.12.28. 399.

railway in the interior, stated categorically that "without full Imperial control over the finances of the colony, there could be no question of advance being made from the Imperial Treasury . . .".[12]

The political reason for the British Government's attitude lay beneath the constitutional issue. As a result of constitutional reforms in 1891, control over the colony's finances had effectively passed from the plantocracy to what has been described as "the middle-class representatives of the better-off Negroes".[14] This change had not passed unnoticed. In 1927, the Secretary of State noted the "virtual exclusion from public life of a large proportion of those best qualified to enter it".[15] His observation was, however, misleading. As the Royal Commission of 1897 pointed out the planters "have special means of influencing the Government, and putting pressure on the home Government to secure attention to their views and wishes".[16] The planters were represented on the Executive Council which was established in 1891, and took advantage of their position to register their disapproval of the decision of the new political élite to concentrate on the development of the interior rather than on the coastal belt. Their objection led to a series of conflicts in the 1920s between the elected element and the executive over finance. Resolute defenders of the constitution in the nineteenth century, the plantocracy now accepted the view that 'the constitution was a bar to progress and the introduction of capital".[17] They listened approvingly while the Governor read the despatch from the Secretary of State (L. S. Amery) who pointed out that the "change in the present constitution is already unavoidable, if only on stern financial facts . . .".[18]

The immediate occasion for the change of the constitution was the report of the Parliamentary Commission appointed in 1927 "to report on the economic conditions of the colony . . . and any facts which they may consider to have a bearing on the above matter".[19] The constitution turned out to be those facts. The Commissioners declared that the constitution was the main cause of the colony's economic stagnation and financial situation. "Hand to mouth finance and haphazard and ill-considered taxation", they wrote, "are the inevitable outcome of a system under which the responsibility for the finances rests with a Government who cannot enforce their policy and the financial power with the elected members who have no real responsibility".[20] Accordingly they recommended that financial control should pass to the Executive either by a reserve power conferred on the Governor, or preponderance of the nominated element in the Legislative Council. This recommendation was endorsed by a local commission,[21] appointed to work out the details of the proposed constitution, and in 1928 the 1831 constitution was abrogated and full Crown Colony Government introduced.[22]

The condition of imperial aid was now fulfilled. But the flow of financial assistance was threatened in 1931 by the economic depression in Britain.

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[12] Combined Court Sessional Paper No. 709 of 1914, 7. (Cited by Clementi *op. cit.* 324).

[14] R. T. Smith, *British Guiana* (London, 1962), 53.

[15] Secretary of State Despatch 25.5.27. Combined Court No. 5/1927. C.S.O. No. 3366/27, 4.

[16] C. 8655 (1897), *Royal Commission on Sugar Industry in the West Indies, Report*, 66.

[17] The West India Committee Circular (1925), 404.

[18] Secretary of State Despatch, 25.5.27, 4.

[19] Cmd. 2841 (1927), *British Guiana Commission*, 3. [20] *Ibid*, 14.

[21] Cmd. 2985 (1927), *British Guiana Constitution Commission*.

[22] British Guiana Act (18 and 19 Geo. 5 (5)). For debates on this see Great Britain, *H. C. Deb.*, 21.2.28 and 6.3.28.

"The financial crisis in Great Britain", the Governor observed, "has rendered the possibility of aid from this source more remote, while it has made it the more incumbent upon us to avoid calls on the Mother Country in her hour of need".[23]

Resort to savings in administrative cost was now a compelling necessity; the more so as the world depression further affected the sugar industry. In September, 1931, the colony was reported to be in a financial position "where her indebtedness stands at its highest and the prices that are paid for her main products at their lowest".[24] The report[25] of a Commission appointed by the Colonial Office in 1931 to advise "as to the specific measures to be adopted to reduce expenditure" promised an immediate saving of $94,420 on a gross expenditure of $5,285,069 and an ultimate economy of $250,650 per annum.[26] These savings, however, assumed the re-organisation of the central administration at district level. As the Commissioners stated, "the only manner in our opinion in which substantial economies can be effected in this branch of the Administration is to replace the departments named (in the report) by a District Scheme . . .".[27]

Such a scheme had already been proposed by Governor Denham in 1930.[28] Financial considerations apart, the Governor believed that the centralisation of the local government machinery was both "ineffective and wasteful."[29] in his report of a tour of the villages in 1930 the Governor observed that there was no clearly established local authority which represented the assembled villagers.[30] Representation emanated from either the chairman of a village committee, a local authority, a leading official of the neighbourhood, a missionary, a sugar planter, or a rice miller. It was even at times difficult for him to ascertain from the various representatives what their responsibilities might be in a particular matter. Nor was it easy for him to ascertain from the villagers the central department to whom they looked for advice and assistance. It might be the district officer of either the Local Government Board, the Drainage Board, the Public Works Department, the Medical Department, or any other department connected with village affairs. There was no general administrative officer whom the villagers could have approached. It was evident that while the villagers had gone to a great deal of trouble to put forward their views – and the Governor was "much struck by the lucidity and ability with which village councils and authorities state the needs of their villages"[31] – they lacked a clear idea as to the appropriate channels through which their views were to be directed.

There was also evidence of administrative tardiness at the central level. The Local Government Board, established in 1907 as the central co-ordinating as well as the advisory and executive body of local government affairs, was 'somewhat cumbersome for its purpose'.[32] The chairmanship of the Board rotated among heads of several departments because it was difficult to find a suitable person to accept the substantive post. These incumbents while prepared to undertake the additional duties found little time to visit the villages. The absence of a full-time chairman hampered the Board's co-ordinating role with

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[23] *Minutes of* Legislative Council, 22.9.31, 12. [24] *Ibid.*, 3.

[25] Cmd. 3938 (1931), *Report of a Commission on the Financial Situation in British Guiana*, 4.

[26] *Ibid.*, 20. [27] *Ibid.*, 23.

[28] *Minutes on Local Government and Administration*, Leg. Co. No. 9/1930.

[29] *Ibid.*, 4. [30] *Ibid.* [31] *Ibid.* [32] *Ibid.*, 5.

the result that officers of the different departments were reported to be "working at cross-purposes and very often over the same ground with duplication of work and waste of time and money".[33]

The local government machinery clearly needed re-organising in the hope of increasing its efficiency and reducing its running cost. It was this consideration, coupled with the demands of the colony's financial situation, that had prompted the Governor to put forward his scheme for decentralisation and to appoint a Committee to consider his proposals.

The Committee's recommendations fell under two main heads:[34]

(i) TWO-TIER LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

The existing local authorities were to be replaced by District Councils. This was to be achieved by combining the villages in larger units. A second tier of local authorities, County Councils, were to supersede the Local Government Board. The establishment of County Councils involved the division of the colony into four counties. Each of the four County Councils was to be composed of a County Administrative Officer, a County Engineer, a County Medical Officer of Health, and the elected members of the Legislative Council whose electoral districts fell wholly or partly within the county, the Chairmen of the District Councils in the county, and not more than three nominated members appointed by the Governor in Council. The senior elected member of the Legislative Council was to preside at meetings of the Council. The Administrative Officer was to be the chief executive officer of the Council as well as the representative of the central government within the county. The County Council was to advise the Governor-in-Council on local government matters within the administrative county. It was to function in relation to District Councils somewhat as the Local Government Board was doing to the village councils, that is, exercising general supervision and control over the activities of the local councils. Each County Council was also empowered to over-ride the authority of the District Councils in all matters.

(ii) INTRODUCTION OF DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS

Within each county there were to be District Commissioners responsible for the general supervision of the District Councils and of the central government officers within their district, except the Magistrate and the Police. Both the Governor and the Committee held the view that the judiciary should remain independent of the executive. The District Commissioners were expected to attend the meetings of the District Councils and to take part in the deliberations. With regard to finance, the District Commissioners were to keep the Councils' accounts and authorise all expenditure.

Perhaps the most important thing to note about the Committee's proposals is that the two-tier system was not introduced. The Governor stated that it was not possible to implement all the Committee's proposals immediately since it would have involved the preparation of a new Local Government Ordinance which time did not permit. He appealed to the urgent demands of the financial situation to justify his decision. He informed the legislature that "in view of the immediate urgency of dealing with the present financial position of the colony it is considered that new legislation of so far-reaching a nature should be subordinated to the more urgent requirements of the present time, and that it

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Report of the Committee on Local Government and Administration*, Leg. Co. No. 7/1931.

would be a mistake to attempt to put through such a Bill at this Session".[35] "In any case", he continued, "the proposed legislation should receive full publication and consideration before its introduction".[36]

A close examination of the recommendations suggests that the official explanation, however plausible, cloaked the true reason for what was virtually a rejection of the proposed two-tier system. It was the Committee's recommendation that the sugar estates be brought within the system of local government.

The Committee contended "that any system of local government which aims at being effective, should comprise the entire coastlands".[37] This meant that not only the 'unadministered' villages but also privately-owned lands and estates should be brought within the scheme. This was to be achieved by extending local councils to embrace these villages and estates.

The need to bring the 'unadministered' villages within the local government system, and to create larger village units, was clear. Larger village units under District Councils were likely to reduce the diseconomies of 'small scale' local authorities. As the Committee pointed out, "It would be impracticable to carry out the extension of local government by the multiplication of small districts comparable in size to the present villages".[38] "Efficient and economical administration", the Committee continued, "would not be obtained by such small districts".[39]

The inclusion of sugar estates would also have contributed to the organisation of more viable units. But the estate owners vigorously opposed the proposal because of its financial and political implications.

Financially, it involved the taxing of estate lands. Writing in 1931, and referring primarily to the villagers' resistance to a Special Improvement Rate in 1862, Webber stated:

> "The villagers contended that the villages were their private property and they wanted neither Improvement Commissioners nor rates . . . One can imagine under similar circumstances if an attempt had been made to levy an improvement rate on the privately owned plantations! An opposition which today informs the attitude of the planters in resisting a District Administrative Scheme, which would bring their properties within the purview of the general tax-gatherers."[40]

The Venn Commission of 1949 also stated "In 1931, a proposal to form the ninety-five parishes on the coast into County Council areas was opposed by the Sugar Companies as being likely to lead to the establishment of a complete system of local taxation".[41]

From the political standpoint, acceptance of the proposal would have brought the 76,000 labourers residing on the sugar estates within a wider political framework. This was likely to disturb the system of estate management. Under the existing system the estate authorities controlled not only the industrial organisation, but also the community and social life of resident workers. The estate was more than a place of work; it was a way of life, a social, economic, and political system which heavily weighted the balance of power between employer and employee in the former's favour.[42]

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[35] *Minute No, 2 on Local Government and Administration.* Leg. Co. 3285/1931, 3.
[36] *Ibid.* [37] Leg. Co. No. 7/1931 4. [38] *Ibid.* 4. [39] *Ibid.*
[40] A. R. F. Webber, *Centenary History and Handbook of British Guiana* (Georgetown, 1931), 267.
[41] *Report of a Commission of Inquiry into the Sugar Industry of British Guiana,* Col. No. 249 (1949), 148.
[42] For a detailed analysis of the sugar estate system of management see C. Jaywardena, *Conflict and Solidarity in a Guianese Plantation* (London, 1963).

It was obvious that the management would resist any 'external force' that was likely to upset the internal relationship. Such forces were resisted in the past, especially those from the trade unions. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, as the class most influential in 1931 in guiding the Crown Colony Government, the estate owners brought their fears and objections to bear on the proposed two-tier system.

This apart, it is relevant to offer a critical appraisal of the proposed system, particularly as future attempts to reform local government are likely to revive, as they did in 1955, the question of a two-tier system.

The advantages to be gained from a second tier of local councils were not so apparent as those likely to accrue from larger units under District Councils. The proposed County Councils were to be a hybrid which would have been part local authority, part Local Government Board, and partly a mechanism for decentralising and co-ordinating the work of other central departments. The idea of superseding the Local Government Board by County Councils was sound. The Councils were more likely to be cognisant of matters of local government within their respective counties. Their role as local authorities was, however, unwarranted, given the larger village units under District Councils with increased functions. A second tier of local authorities with the powers they would have had over District Councils would have undermined the position of the proposed District Councils. As local authorities, County Councils did not promise to contribute as much to successful local government as did the proposals to have larger village units and to place the sugar estates within the jurisdiction of the new District Councils.

The Committee's recommendation to establish the District Commissioner System was accepted and, on 1st January, 1932, the system was introduced. District Commissioners and Staffs were appointed for six administrative districts.[43] The Local Government Board was retained as the central co-ordinating authority and executive body. The Board, apart from carrying out its executive responsibilities, dealt freely with policy. The introduction of District Commissioners, however, decentralised the executive work of the Board, as well as that of the Commissary's Department, the Immigration Department, and the Lands and Mines Department. Since then the District Commissioners have been assigned multifarious duties and in 1955 they estimated that local government business accounted for about 50 per cent of their work.[44]

The system remains basically unchanged although, as we observed, Dr. Marshall recommended its discontinuance on the ground that it was undemocratic and amateurish. The system bears a superficial resemblance to its African counterpart, but it is noteworthy that in Guiana, unlike in British colonial West Africa for example, the system has escaped the criticisms of 'nationalist' politicians. In their 'struggle for national independence', and in the polemics that characterise the struggle, they have shown little inclination to associate the District Commissioner with the colonial system. For this there are two likely explanations.

First, the system began in different circumstances and operates in a different social context from that in colonial Africa. Even if it was officially desired for its apparent success elsewhere, 'Indirect Rule', as the system was described in colonial Africa, was not possible since there were no traditional political

[43] (i) Georgetown and East Bank Demerara, (ii) East Coast Demerara, (iii) West Coast Demerara, (iv) Berbice, (v) Essequebo, (vi) North West District.

[44] Marshall Report, 73.

organisations which combined a chiefly head with a strong conciliar organisation to form the basis of 'Native Authorities'. In 1932 there were few 'natural leaders of the people' through whom the District Commissioner system could be developed. In fact, one of the striking features of political and social organisation of the villages was the absence of easily recognisable leaders. The Governor, during his tour of the villages in 1930, observed that "it was impossible to know in advance who would be the spokesman of the assembled villagers".[45] Nor were the local councils in later years the fortresses of opposition to the emergence of 'nationalist' politicians. This perhaps explains why these politicians in the 1950s, while recognising the ineffectiveness of these councils, should have refrained from attacking them, thus creating a new enemy where there was no certainty that one existed.

Perhaps an even more likely explanation is the fact that few District Commissioners have been Englishmen or expatriate officers. Most of them, as of Commissioners of Local Government and other Deputies, have been Guianese, usually white or light-coloured persons. To observe their pigmentation and racial origin is not unimportant in a colony where there is a close correlation between colour/class hierarchy and the officials who hold top-ranking posts. Because of their colour and social aspirations, many of these officials claim affinities with, and are considered by 'nationalist' politicians as belonging to, the 'European' group. Smith observes that in 1953, when the People's Progressive Party was in office, its leaders vigorously opposed the high-level control of the bureaucracy by this 'European' group.[46] But the fact that many of the District Commissioners and their superiors are Guianese makes it difficult for politicians to regard them as symbols of colonial rule. Moreover, 'nationalist' politicians, though opposed to high level control of the bureaucracy by the local 'European' group, regard the sugar estate owners as the real embodiment of colonial rule, and have concentrated their attack on this group.

(iii) The Working of the District Commissioner System

Against this background we can proceed to discuss the working of the system under the following heads:

(*a*) District Commissioner's Control over Local Authorities.
(*b*) His Co-ordinating Role.
(*c*) Appraisal of the System.

(*a*) District Commissioner's control over local authorities

One of the prominent features of the District Commissioner system in British Guiana is the close control over local authorities exercised by the District Commissioner on behalf of the Local Government Board. The District Commissioner's statutory powers are not limited to general supervision. They include the scrutiny, correction, and approval of virtually all decisions made by local authorities. This is particularly striking in regard to finance. For example, all monies are paid to the District Commissioner and he keeps the accounts. The Local Authority can only incur expenditure on the authority of either the District Commissioner or the Local Government Board. The close control prevents the exercise of local judgement almost completely. Although this is not always apparent, the local authorities are in effect held accountable,

[45] Leg. Co. No. 9/1930, 5.
[46] R. T. Smith, *The Negro Family in British Guiana* (London, 1956), 199.

not to the electorate, but to the District Commissioner and the Local Government Board. This undermines the principle of responsible representation at the local level where it is already weakened by a narrow franchise and the indefinite suspension of local government elections.

One of the principal reasons for close control by the District Commissioner is the need to ensure that statutory debts are paid and that loans from the government and the British Guiana Credit Corporation are satisfactorily and efficiently utilised. The need arises from administrative considerations. Village Councils are too impoverished to employ the executive staff necessary to carry out large scale loan-aided projects. Nor does their normal range of activities justify the employment of persons of a high calibre. As Marshall observed, "the scale of operations and the financial resources are so limited that the employment of any, but the most lowly grades of staff is neither possible nor financially justifiable".[47] The overseers, the most senior officers, receive salaries comparable to those of messengers in the central government services. The councils can therefore demand only the most humble educational qualifications, and can expect from their overseers little more than the ability to keep simple records and minutes, and exercise some supervision over manual workers. For this reason, the District Commissioner maintains close supervision which enables him to keep control of the situation.

The need for close control also arises from the fact that there are relatively few outstanding villager leaders. The factors responsible for this situation are both sociological and political.

Sociological factors

In the first place the village reservoir from which leadership can be drawn is limited. In the villages, occupational status rather than wealth tends to be the criterion of prestige and influence. As such, primary school teachers, along with the few government officials, constitute the rural élite. Members of the latter group – sanitary inspectors, agricultural officers, social welfare officers – give technical advice to local authorities, and, as civil servants, are debarred from active participation in village politics. Teachers, immune from the restriction, are in the position to claim leadership roles. But many are 'strangers' to the village in which they work, with little or no interest in its political affairs. The restricted property franchise does not encourage those who are temporarily residing in the village to cultivate such an interest. Teachers interested in village politics, but lacking the franchise qualification, have usually been nominated to Country District Councils when such councils existed. The nominee's position was, however, temporary since either he was transferred, or there were others who demanded and received their turn. This turn-over of teachers in the villages and their former role as nominated members of councils have hampered the emergence of village leaders from this group and continue to do so.

The uncertainties of agricultural activities also indirectly contribute to the limited reservoir of leadership material. A considerable proportion of the rural population live under conditions which deny the security a farmer has reason to expect. So unattractive are the conditions of farming that there is a tendency for the more successful farming families, mainly East Indians who cultivate rice, to put their children into occupations other than agriculture, either a profession

[47] Marshall Report, 11.

or commerce. Huggins noted in 1944 that "as the earnings of the father rose, so did the tendency for his children to enter other occupations than agriculture".[48] No doubt, the father's decision is also prompted by the high status of such professions as law and medicine. On their return from studies abroad these professionals invariably live in the urban areas, and the net effect is that their interests in village politics wane.

Thirdly, there are few leadership roles in the villages. Apart from the village councils and perhaps religious organisations, there are few institutions in which continuing leadership is required. Most organisations are formed for the attainment of short-term goals and are likewise short-lived. Some that are intended to be permanent do not survive for long. Others are often badly organised. Sports clubs, for example, do not develop strong internal organisations, and there is a general reluctance among members to acknowledge leaders except for *ad hoc* purposes, e.g., writing a letter of invitation to an opposing team, collecting subscriptions for the purchase of equipment. No one remains a leader for long because sooner or later he will be considered to be claiming an unjustified superiority. This attitude stems primarily from the egalitarianism that characterises the group. Trade union activity is practically non-existent in most villages, since the organisation of labour is individualistic or on a family basis. For all these reasons there are not many offices to compete for, and this restricts the emergence of leaders with actual power in the community. Of course this does not prevent the existence of factions and factional struggles in village politics. Moreover the possibility of leaders emerging from such struggles is counteracted by their lack of actual power as councillors.

Political factors

From the political standpoint, the property franchise narrows the field from which leaders can be recruited. It excludes the election of many young, able, interested, but propertyless villages. Moreover, the middle-aged and the old, who mainly constitute the electorate, tend either by habit or lack of confidence in the young, to re-elect the 'village fathers'. These leaders, though enthusiastic, have a restricted outlook towards the expansion of local authorities' services, and accept the council's position *viz-à-viz* the District Commissioner and the Local Government Board. In 1955 Dr. Marshall "found some acceptance of the need to extend the work of Local Authorities", but noted that "Appreciation of the fact came from younger members of the community, and much less frequently from members of Local Authorities who in general, have little or no regret at the way in which in British Guiana the new work of government is done by other agencies, and do not admit that there are many facilities which a Local Authority can provide so much more effectively than other agencies".[49] In fairness to the 'village fathers' we should take account of the relative poverty of the country, and their struggles with the drainage problem which normally accounts for almost half of the total annual expenditure of local government funds.

Dearth of leaders, the humble educational qualifications of overseers, the small size of local authorities, and their weak finances, are related factors that contribute to the exercise of close control by the District Commissioner. In 1945 village councils were described as "channels of communication between each

[48] H. D. Huggins, *Social and Economic Aspects of Drainage and Irrigations* Leg. Co. No. 17/1944, 7. Cited from an Economic Survey of Dairy Farming in East Demerara carried out in 1939.

[49] Marshall Report, 13.

village and the agencies of the central government", which "executed such purely local administrative duties as have been entrusted to them by the central government".[50] Their role remains the same; and as stated earlier the District Commissioner's office continues to be the hive of local government activity, and the District Commissioner the pivot on which District Administration revolves.

(*b*) DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S CO-ORDINATING ROLE

The District Commissioner's duties include the co-ordinating of the work of specialised departments in the district, such as Social Assistance, Social Welfare, and Public Health.[51] Financially, these services if transferred to Local Authorities are likely to languish for want of adequate local resources, while, administratively, their standards are likely to fall below a tolerable level. Perhaps because transfer is fraught with these dangers, there is no official inclination to place the administration, still more the control, of these services in the hands of local authorities.

Two factors militate against the effectiveness of the District Commissioner's co-ordinating role. First, the local administrative areas for the various services vary in size. They have been determined independently by the department concerned to meet the administrative requirements of the particular service it provides. In consequence, each department has developed over the years as an individual entity.[52] Secondly, the departmental officers are accountable, not to the District Commissioner, but to their respective heads of departments in Georgetown. Vertical ties are inevitably stronger than lateral ones. Indeed, by being solely responsible to their respective heads of departments, district officers are not compelled to look across departmental boundaries. These strong vertical ties do not easily lend themselves to co-ordination by the District Commissioner.

(*c*) APPRAISAL OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER SYSTEM

It is appropriate to base the appraisal of the District Commissioner System on the 'democratic' and 'efficiency' concepts of local government. In the introductory section, it was suggested that the judgements of the Waddington and Robertson Commissions, though different, were partly based on these two concepts. It was also observed that Dr. Marshall took account of both these concepts when recommending his reform of local government in general, and particularly when urging the discontinuance of the District Commissioner System. It is necessary for two reasons to continue to use these two concepts as the yardstick by which to judge the success or failure of the District Commissioner System. First, there is no satisfactory political theory of local government which can be used as a basis of appraisal. In fact, this subject is in a sad state. To quote Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie, "There is no normative general theory from which we can deduce what local government ought to be; there is no positive general theory from which we can derive testable hypotheses

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[50] T. S. Simey, *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies* (London, 1946), 210.

[51] Since this article was written there have been several changes of departmental duties. The District Commissioner is no longer responsible for co-ordinating the work of all the district officers. This responsibility is now shared by officers of the Ministry of Education and Social Security.

[52] A. Young, *Two Approaches to Local Self-Government in British Guiana* (London, 1958), 200.

[53] W. J. M. Mackenzie, *Theories of Local Government* (Greater London Papers), No. 1961, 5.

about what it is".[53] Secondly, these two concepts have been the cornerstones of British colonial objectives in the field of local government ever since John Stuart Mill revived the idea that experience in local government is good for the training of citizens in national politics and restated the view that, on the ground of general utility, a local authority exists to provide services, and it must be judged by its success in providing services up to the standard laid down by the central government.[54] It was with almost unanimous conviction of the virtues of local self-government that imperial statesmen agreed to export British local government to former colonial territories, first in India, Burma, and Ceylon, then in Africa and elsewhere.

It is not easy to apply either of these two concepts since both are difficult to define precisely and, of the two, efficiency is the more difficult. Most writers on local government speak of efficiency as a readily recognisable concept easy of measurement, whereas the term can be given at least three different definitions.

In the first instance, efficiency can be defined in terms of effectiveness, that is, of getting a particular job done to some recognised or agreed standard. For example, a railway service can be considered efficient if all trains run on time, irrespective of the cost of running them. In terms of this definition, the District Commissioner system can be considered efficient. The Local Government Board, acting through the District Commissioner, is in a position to insist and see that tolerable standards are maintained by local authorities. Where, for example, a local authority fails to make adequate financial provision to carry out a service satisfactorily, the Local Government Board, when approving the estimates, is in a position to remedy this defect. It can increase the proposed rate of taxation. There are instances of this being done since, for political reasons, village councils will curtail and neglect essential maintenance, or deprive employees of overdue increase in salaries, in order to avoid increases in taxation. Alternatively, the Board can step in to exercise all the powers of a local authority, and unfettered in the final analysis by any other considerations than the maintenance of services to the required standard, the Board may act without much reference to the councillors or villagers. Of course the Board in resorting to such action runs the risk of being charged with dictation and arbitrary action, but these charges may go unheeded since the Board, a corporate body, enjoys an independent existence.

The powers of the Board, and the fact that the District Commissioner keeps the accounts of local authorities, combine to check the incidence of financial mismanagement, and to see that village works are promptly carried out. Audit, both by the Audit Department and the District Commissioner, together with regular personal visits by the latter to the village councils, are also some of the more effective methods by which the central government makes sure that the required standard of administration by village councils' employees is maintained.

The system has impressed several informed observers. In 1943 Professor Simey, then Social Welfare Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies, observed that "the most striking feature of social administration in British Guiana is the sound system of local government which the colony possesses".[55] Two years later he added, "the country is left as the

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[53] J. S. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (Everyman's Library, 1962 edition).

[55] *Memorandum on the Development of Social Welfare Services by the Social Welfare Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies*, Leg. Co. No. 7/1943, 1.

solitary example in the West Indies of a colony which possessed in 1945 something in the nature of a vital system of local government".[56] Mrs. Hicks has recently stated, "There is no doubt that they (District Commissioners) have proved their worth . . .".[57] Evidently both Professor Simey and Mrs. Hicks, in expressing these favourable opinions, were implying that the system was efficient in terms of the above definition.

Secondly, efficiency can be defined in terms of administrative economy. This means the administering of services with an economy of effort and staff. To refer to the example of the railway service, the service can also be considered efficient if the trains are run with the minimum effort – fuel perhaps – and staff. Consideration of the economy factor was one of the main reasons for introducing the District Commissioner system in 1932. Here again the system works satisfactorily from the stand-point of the central government. One has only to look at the multifarious duties of District Commissioners to see how the system provides various central departments with a local agent for carrying out work. The system saves these departments from having to set up local offices for small and sporadic duties. Local administration is also done relatively cheaply since the District Commissioner is in effect a multipurpose officer with a single administrative organisation. There is, however, the danger, as Dr. Marshall points out, that as services become more specialised the District Commissioner will become "a jack of all trades and master of none"[58] to the detriment of these services. Although there is room for improvement, the system can nevertheless be said to have achieved one of its original objectives, economy in central administration.

Thirdly, efficiency can be defined in terms of choosing the most suitable means towards achieving an objective. If we refer again to the example of the railway service, a train may be expected to arrive at its destination half an hour earlier without a change in its time of departure. To realise this new objective it may be necessary either to use a more powerful engine, employ a more experienced driver, or reduce the duration of call at each station. Within this context, efficiency means both the defining of the end to be served and the choosing of the most suitable means to achieve it. Here means and ends are not only related but are both variables. When efficiency is considered in this sense, the machinery of local government is not only expected to provide services to a required standard, but also to the satisfaction of the villagers and in such a way that every possible benefit can accrue to the villagers.

In the light of such a redefinition of the ends to be served, the problem of the District Commissioner system becomes organisational. Since the administering of services is intended to have its greatest effect upon the local communities, it is reasonable to expect the villagers to be participants in the administrative machinery. This, in practice, commits the administration of services to representative councils of the villagers served. Moreover, if these councils are to be responsive to the needs of their respective communities, they should not only be representative of, but responsible to, the community served. What is required is an organisation created mainly in terms of a close relationship between the villagers served and the operators of the service. For the closer the organisation of a service is to the 'consumer', the more efficient it becomes

[56] T. S. Simey, *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies* (London, 1946), 210.

[57] U. K. Hicks, *Development from Below: Local Government and Finance in Commonwealth Countries* (London, 1961), 40.

[58] Marshall Report, 73.

in terms of eliminating encumbrances and promoting its adaptability to local circumstances.

When judged in terms of this meaning of efficiency, the District Commissioner system cannot be regarded as efficient. The basic weakness of the system is that the institutions, the Local Government Board and the District Commissioner, which make the decisions on interesting matters and which veto village councils' decisions lie outside the control of the villagers. The village councils are bereft of responsibility for administrative functions which affect them closely. As Smith points out, the gradual assumption of control of essential services by the central government eroded away the responsibilities of the local authorities. Practically, the only responsibility left to the village councils was the raising of a rate to pay for internal drainage and irrigation works, and even here close control was exercised by the government.[59]

The bad effects of denying the local authorities greater opportunity to be responsible for the administering of services are all too apparent. Complaints by a villager about the inadequacy of a service usually lead to heated and fruitless debates in the village council, ending in instructions to the Chairman or Overseer to correspond with the District Commissioner. This in turn touches off a series of correspondence first, between the District Commissioner and the Local Government Board or other Government Departments concerned, and second, between the former and the village council. This leads not only to a feeling of frustration, but also to a mounting tide of complaints about deficiences and inefficiencies of local services. This frustration detracts substantially from the enthusiasm and drive of the local authorities.

This feature of 'outside' control also encourages the local authorities to avoid their limited responsibilities. Where a local authority is answerable for a matter raised by the Ratepayers' Association for example, it is tempting for the Overseer to lay the blame on the District Commissioner. In fact, this is not an unusual device for dodging responsibility. Such an action helps to undermine the authority of the village councils. The villager if he is unfairly treated by the council can, without further negotiations with the council, appeal to the District Commissioner. The latter's decision often touches off a long trail of conflict either between the village council and the aggrieved person, or between the council and the District Commissioner. The antagonisms bred by such conflict provide an opposition to the council's leadership role. Irrespective of the outcome of the issue, the villager is left with the impression that on no future occasion is there the necessity to attach too much importance to the council's decision. If appeals to the District Commissioner were possible only after further negotiations between the council and the aggrieved person were exhausted, there is the possibility that, in the course of negotiation, the contending parties would arrive at a *modus vivendi*. Of course, prolonged negotiations may also serve to show how un-yielding are both parties.

It should not be implied from this criticism of too much 'outside' control, that differences between the council and the villagers are undesirable, or that avenues for appeals should cease to exist, or that matters of policy related to local government are not ultimately to be decided by the central government. The criticism is intended to show that the District Commissioner system, by allowing the villagers little opportunity to be responsible for local affairs, not only creates encumbrances in the administering of services, but also gives the villagers little incentive to cultivate habits of self-reliance.

[59] R. T. Smith, *British Guiana*, 191.

IV. Conclusion

It is perhaps necessary to state that our criticism of the 'outside' control of the District Commissioner system should not be interpreted to mean that we are urging local separatism. This will almost certainly exacerbate the present fissiparous tendencies in the society and lead to a multiplicity of semi-autonomous communities often at odds with one another and with the central government. It is fully appreciated that there is need for a strong central government in a politically unstable society such as British Guiana. Such a government is necessary if the resources involved in national development – productive, administrative, financial – are to be manipulated quickly and easily, in the sense of their transfer from one field of activity to another. It will also be necessary to interpret the views of the various local communities on say, health matters or distribution of water-supply, in terms of economic, scientific, and technological factors which in an undeveloped country are known only to the central government. A strong central government is also necessary to reconcile the claims of the various local communities with those of the wider community and the national programme. Its existence may also be necessary to guarantee that services are available to every local community as well as to every section of it. For a system of local government can be abused in the sense that partisan politics may result in the disfavoured section of the community being denied the full advantages of publicly administered services. However, these considerations do not affect the argument for entrusting more responsibility to local authorities. Indeed, the stature of village councils is likely to be enhanced if, along with the more viable local government units, adequate local finance, and better qualified staff, councils were to participate more frequently in decisions on matters of real interest to their respective communities.

Administration of Rural Small-scale Industry Development Schemes in Andhra Pradesh, India

by K. Seshadri

Although this article is mainly devoted to the examination of the problem of rural industrialisation in Andhra Pradesh, it can be claimed that the various facets of the problems discussed are of general application to other states as well. The problem of non-rural industrialisation is clearly beyond the scope of this article, as it is also beyond the scope of local authorities, by virtue of its greater magnitude and complexity.

At the outset it is important to point out that it is more difficult in a rural economy to envisage separate sectors like agriculture or industry than it may perhaps be in a bigger economy. It is also difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between the panchayati raj sector and the state government sector, as the schemes enlarge and develop. Any scheme of rural development has to embrace all fields – agriculture, industry, irrigation, communications, electrification, forestry, fishing, co-operation, general education, social and technical education, etc.

The importance of industrial development in rural areas to Andhra Pradesh need hardly be over-emphasised. Only 13 per cent of the total state income comes from the industrial sector, such as it is. The vastness of its area[1] and its high population,[2] great dependence on agriculture[3] and the high degree of political consciousness evidenced in the general participation of the people from the panchayati raj level to the national level are all factors that call for an urgent appraisal of its potentialities.

A study in contrast with other prominent states of various factors that govern the politico-economic growth may help to place the picture in a clear perspective. The per capita income of the agricultural population in Andhra Pradesh is Rs. 158, as compared with Rs. 138 for Bombay, Rs. 125 for Madras and Rs. 118 for Bihar. The net irrigated area in Andhra Pradesh is next only to Uttar Pradesh with its perennial rivers, the Ganges and Jumna, and the highly developed Punjab. By the end of 1970 irrigation projects are expected to bring an additional 10.5 million acres under the plough.

The following table shows the superior yield of principal crops per acre in Andhra Pradesh as against the national level.[4]

Yield per acre (in lbs.)

Crop	*A.P.*	*India*
Rice	1,015	720
Sugar cane	6,231	2,895
Groundnuts	753	641
Chillies	536	524
Tobacco	710	641

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[1] 106,000 square miles.

[2] 31 million according to 1951 census.

[3] Nearly 67.3 per cent of the total.

[4] *National Income Unit Estimates*, National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi.

This in itself is not much to speak of, and the subsistence economy, based on primitive agricultural methods totally uncomplemented by industrial, secondary and tertiary sectors, aggravates the need for creating industrial potential with quick 'gestation periods'. It is in this sense that small scale industries in the rural areas should receive immediate attention and follow up.

'Follow up' has been stressed deliberately since it will be shown subsequently that schemes well intentioned and solemnly inaugurated die immaturely 'unwept, unhonoured, and unsung' due to lack of follow-up. This is the process of reappraisal which is inherent in any scientific process of administration, which seeks to make its direction progressive and its resources productively and frugally employed. It is relevant here to quote Edward Litchfield on the role of reappraisal. "It is needed to complete the action cycle in order to make it dynamic rather than static. This is the action which induces change and growth. It must be specifically provided for in the action pattern if growth is to be accepted as both constant and necessary."[5]

It is the failure to 'look back' that results in the incapacity to 'look forward' in many of these schemes.

Another factor which is of economic and political significance in the State of Andhra Pradesh is the imbalance that exists in the three main regions. The degree of backwardness is very disparate between region and region. The following table will illustrate:

Name of region	*% of state area*	*% of state populations*	*% contribution to state income*	*Per capita income*	*Per capita from agriculture*	*Highest and lowest per capita income districts*
1. Circars	33.3	46.2	51.1	Rs. 257	194.03	Gunter Rs. 360 West Godawari Rs. 271
2. Rayalaseema	27.4	19.4	19.0	Rs. 225	159.13	Kurnool Rs. 252 Chittoor Rs. 187
3. Telangana	39.3	34.4	29.9	Rs. 201	100.12	Nizamabad Rs. 274 Warangal Rs. 150

(Taken from NCAER Estimates for 1955-56.)

More than 50 per cent. of the state income comes from the rich, thickly populated and comparatively more developed coastal Andhra area, the

[5] Edward H. Litchfield "*Notes on General Theory of Administration*", Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1956.

'Circars'[6] whose area is 33.3 per cent. of the state. The political 'power élite' of the Andhra Pradesh comes mainly from this region. A high degree of political participation, from the Gandhian days to the modern panchayati raj era, is recorded in this region. It is the 'rice bowl' and the nature of paddy growing gives the rural people a certain degree of leisure for nearly four months in a year, which enables them to indulge either in politics or in litigation or in idleness. It is literally and figuratively the hot-bed of the communists. It may be of interest to note that the panchayat of Gannavaram in this area under the communists has been adjudged as the best in the whole of Andhra Pradesh and was awarded a prize by the Congress Government.

Contrasted to this, the Rayalaseema area has been called the 'stalking-ground of famines' – an economically weak area with sparse population. The Telangana area, long under princely absolutism, did not breathe the air of democracy even in a limited form till the police action against the Nizam gave its people a vote and local self-government for the first time in known history. The people naturally are poor and illiterate, the land dry, yielding only dry crops. The land tenure was feudal.[7] Many places do not have railway connections and hence they are not touched by any industry.[8] During the last days of the Nizam's rule, communists had established a sort of parallel government in two of the districts here, Warangal and Nalgonda. Today in panchayati raj administration the Zilla Parishad of Nalgonda is communist dominated.

The landless labourers (depending only on agricultural labour) in these three areas total about 32.1 per cent in Circars, 19.4 per cent in Rayalaseema and 25.1 per cent in Telangana of the respective rural populations. They are unemployed except when planting and harvesting take place, and hence drift from one occupation to another, or generally migrate to the urban areas in search of jobs in construction works, rickshaw pulling or such other manual labour as is in demand. Since the general tendency is for the people to stay away in the urban areas, it is more accentuated among these as they have no stake in their native soil. The difference between the landless agricultural labourers and a majority of the landed agricultural peasant is only one of degree, since the latter owns a very uneconomic holding below 2.5 acres. Hence it becomes absolutely essential for them to eke out their agricultural earnings with other non-agricultural occupations. As these stand, they are undependable and not very productive either. This state of uncertainty and unproductivity in both agricultural and non-agricultural occupations, such as they are, leads them into chronic debt resulting in the sale of land and in their joining the 'agricultural proletariat'. The rich peasantry is ever anxious to pressurise them to undersell their holdings. This factor is well summed up in the Third Five-year Plan.

> "In the rural areas, both unemployment and under-employment exist side by side, and the distinction between them is by no means sharp. In the villages, unemployment ordinarily takes the form of under-employment. In

[6] Circar means government. The name was given to it because this area belonged to the British from the early East India Company days, as contrasted to Telangana, which was ruled by the Nizam of Hyderabad until after Independence, and Rayalaseem which once belonged to the Nizam, but was ceded to the British during the days of Lord Wellesley.

[7] It was abolished only after the enactment of the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Land Act of 1950.

[8] The capital city of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad-Secunderabad is a highly industrialized area. The Hyderabad district is highly urbanized with 65.2 of the people in this district living in the city. More industries are being set up in this area. With a military station, a university town with two universities, one of them agricultural, and various central institutes of training the city is growing in importance and 'sprawling'.

many parts of the country, during the busy agricultural seasons, shortages of labour are frequently reported, but over the greater part of the year, a large proportion of agricultural labour and others engaged in allied activities are without continuous employment. The consequent drift of workers from villages to towns only serves to shift the focus of attention from rural areas to the urban."[9]

Whether the attention is focussed on the rural areas or on the urban areas, the problem is not only economic but also social. Idle brains, it is rightly said, are the Devil's workshops. Hence the problem is to give adequate employment to the people in the urban areas, provide them with the minimum amenities of human living, and prevent the city from developing a 'cancerous growth'. Complementary to this is the problem of containing the people in their rural areas by providing work for their idle hands and food for their hungry stomachs.[10] This would stop the exodus to the cities and the increase in the number of deserted villages. The institutions of the village schoolmaster and the village blacksmith, signifying in the modern context mass education and skilled artisanship, have to be resurrected. There should not be any one in the village like William Faulkner's "man without skills and knowledge leaning terrifically against nothing". Many studies in the U.S.A. have shown that farm people, when they take to non-farm work, earn substantially less than industrial workers. This holds good almost everywhere, although there have been no empirical studies in other places. Therefore, the village folk should engage in tasks which will be remunerative to them during their period of unemployment and augment their income when under-employed. These tasks should require only that type of skill and knowledge which rural folk can learn to master. The industries which are agriculture-based or forest-based are suitable for the rural areas. The mineral-based industries are more complicated and must be based on locally available minerals.

In addition to the huge band of landless agricultural labour and small peasants, there are many artisans in the villages who have been pursuing traditional occupations with outmoded techniques and tools. Neither the economic conditions prevailing in the rural areas nor the traditional hidebound conservatism of the artisans themselves permit them to improve their skills and workmanship and expand their productive capacity. Scientific management, insisting on a right man and a right tool for a right job, is a long way off in urban industry, not to speak of the tradition-bound agricultural rural areas.[11]

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[9] Third Five Year Plan, p. 154.

[10] A programme of "Community Development Employment for the utilisation of Idle Manpower", introduced in Greece, and Ecuador by the United Nations Technical Assistance Missions for encouraging voluntary use of idle man-power and economic development at the local levels, is of interest here as well. The workers are offered an incentive and receive technical guidance from experts. High yields are reported to have been achieved, though low investment in capital and limited administrative capacity were countervailing factors against abundant manpower. Local initiative, education, creation of proper attitudes and self-reliance are all-important factors. *See United Nations, Technical Assistance Administration, A General Economic Appraisal of Libya*, by John Lindberg (New York, 1952, 11.H.2).

[11] There has been lament in India over the destruction of the skilled artisans after the advent of the British Raj. Gandhism is, among other things, an attempt at a 'romantic revival' of these forgotten crafts. "Village industries", says the Independence Pledge taken by the Indian National Congress on 26th January, 1930, and reiterated every year till independence was won, "such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed."

See '*An Autobiography*' by Jawaharlal Nehru, Bodley Head, London, Appendix A.

The limiting factors in the development of these schemes are the wide dispersal of rural artisans in scattered villages; the general lack of experience in the development of these industries; lack of trained staff; the wrong location of production centres; and finally the eternal paucity of funds for the procurement of necessary materials. Only towns and big villages have electricity in India generally.[12] In Andhra Pradesh, the *per capita* consumption of electricity in the years 1959-1960 was 14.32 kwh as against Madras with 43.25 kwh, Bombay with 57.50 kwh and West Bengal with 68.90 kwh. It is less even than the national average of 30.40 kwh and less also than a much smaller state like Kerala with 25.43 kwh.[13] If out of this meagre quantity the consumption of larger towns is deducted, there is little for the rural areas to utilise, if they have electricity at all.

The other infra-structural factor is obviously a good network of roads, railways and other modern transport and communication facilities. Not only village roads, but also link roads to the national highways are prime needs for the annihilation of time and distance. Under the community development projects, the village panchayats and samithis have faced this problem of constructing village roads and block roads, while the Zilla Parishads at the district level are entrusted with this as one of their main functions. Roads lead to markets for the goods produced. Marketing facilities, therefore, are the next logical step in this direction: "While it is necessary to ensure that cost of production is kept as low as possible through various measures such as use of improved technology, reduction in transport, etc., it would also be desirable to organise the production in collaboration and in co-ordination with the existing marketing agencies such as government-run emporia, co-operative consumer stores and recognised private marketing channels".[14] In fact, marketing would be more difficult than production. The smallness of the scale of production inherently limits the extent of marketing within the bounds of economy.

Therefore, for these rural schemes to function effectively and continuously, and not by leaps and bounds, proper planning towards the provision of the following factors is essential:

(1) The supply of improved tools and equipment to artisans and workers either on a grant or a loan basis.

(2) The procurement of suitable sites for industrial units. This would entail a proper supply of power where possible, water supply, transport and other facilities incidental to a unit comprising of a group of people.

(3) Loans by the local government to small entrepreneurs or to co-operative societies or even to individual artisans, by liberalising the existing legislation on state aid to industries.

(4) A rural insurance scheme, if workable, to assure a certain amount of security to the artisans.

(5) Training schemes with well qualified personnel and proper education to demonstrate to the artisans the superiority of scientific technology and the proper utilisation of scientific tools over their rule-of-thumb methods. Training schemes should embrace not only technical skill but also managerial skill.

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[12] According to the Third Five Year Plan estimates, only about 43,000 out of a total of 558,089 villages are to be electrified by 1966. See Third Five Year Plan, p. 403.

[13] *All India Statistics, General Review*, 1959-60.

[14] *Rural Industries Projects, Progress of the Scheme* – Official Report, Directorate of Small-scale Industries, Govt. of A.P.

(6) The establishment of co-operatives, and the proper guidance of the institutions including training in administration and management.

(7) Marketing facilities that would eliminate the middleman and assure adequate income and incentive for the workers.

(8) A suitable method of 'follow up' to see that it is not a case of 'one step forward and two steps back'.

The general experience in all these attempts at modernisation is that the tendency of the people is to go back to their own time-honoured ways. The artisans who are given training in the use of scientific tools and techniques never go back to utilise this knowledge, but just drift away. This is a loss not only in terms of tangible elements like money and time spent on 'educating' the workers but also an intangible loss due to the non-exploitation of potential man-power. The sociological and psychological factors that induce their drifting away have to be properly studied. Galbraith once said, "In the new states today, or the older ones without developed systems of popular education, one also wonders if school books should not come before machine tools. Popular education releases energies not of the few but of the many. And it opens the way to technical knowledge. Literate people will see the need for getting machines. It is not so clear that machines will see the need for getting literate people".[15]

One of the causes for the trained artisans abandoning their technical training may be the lack of an education which would enable them to see the need for machines. It is also this lack of education that has militated against an intelligent participation by the people in the panchayati raj institutions and making them work dynamically for their benefit, instead of merely letting them degenerate into decentralised institutions for the benefit of the local politicians who cannot be accommodated at the state government level.

One subtle distinction has to be borne in mind when contemplating the introduction of technology and social change – the difference between science and technology. Unless there is an absorption of the scientific spirit any introduction of technology is bound to be only skin deep. In a social milieu where ignorance, tradition and superstition are deep-rooted, technology cannot flourish. This factor has to be studied when government feels frustrated about the drifting away of the artisans after their training, as is experienced in this state. The Five Year Plan says that, "constant adaptation to the conditions of rapid change in a dynamic economy and the adoption of new techniques, methods and forms of organisation are important factors in the stability and development of various village and small industries".[16] This constant adaptation will be possible only with popular education, and not by increasing the dosage of technical assistance. The community development movement is intended to foster this psychological change. This attitude is generally evident all over India due to an emphasis in the whole planning philosophy on the economic factors, to the substantial neglect of sociological factors, and a deliberate attitude of 'untouchability' towards political factors. When this point was brought before a state official he promptly retorted that while it is possible to measure economic returns, the same is not possible of social returns. This is an age-old question into which I need not enter here.

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[15] J. K. Galbraith, "*Economic Development in Perspective*", a United States Information Service Publication, India, p. 13.

[16] Third Five Year Plan, pp 426-7

In Andhra Pradesh, for example, certain castes have tended to be better than others in certain types of work. The 'Vaddar' caste men in Telangana area can put in more units of work in earth digging than any other caste. The muslims generally do not seem to get into masonry jobs or even cultivation. They do better in mechanical work like cycle-part making or tannery or tailoring. No one except the 'Padma Sali' caste in Andhra Pradesh will ever take to weaving and dyeing.

Since caste system is essentially a functional division of labour, there seems some plausible explanation for certain people doing certain types of work better than others. Therefore, when locating small-scale industrial units these factors have to be taken into account. For example, any weaving and dyeing unit constituted in an area where members of this particular community of weavers are not present in a considerable number is not likely to meet with success because the other communities are not generally likely to take it up. Similarly with tanning and such other occupations which are traditionally practised by the various functional castes. Those industries like welding, paper or soap-making and general engineering repairs, which are not contemplated under the traditional caste division of labour are likely to be taken up by the general rural peoples if proper training facilities, incentive and education to appreciate it are provided. Hence, for the success of these schemes there must be a proper harmonisation between the local resources available both physical and man-power and the supply of equipment, technical know-how and scientific education.

These small-scale industrialisation schemes are meant to supplement the large-scale national schemes and certainly not to replace them. Complete dependence on agriculture alone or industries alone is impossible though there may be a difference in accent, depending upon the nature of the country. The state of Andhra Pradesh is predominantly agricultural and any major shift in the priorities from this is uneconomical and unwise. Development of small-scale industry has to be related to the agricultural production, adjust itself to its demands, and utilise such resource potential as it can release without detriment to itself.

The aim is to bring about a 'co-operative agro-industrial' economy. Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan, leader of the Sarvodaya School, expresses a similar idea of bringing an agro-industrial society. "Therefore, industrialisation (described above) must be integrated intimately with agriculture, so that every village or at least every small group of villages is developed as an agro-industrial community. The term 'agro-industrial' here does not refer only to industries concerned with the processing of agricultural products. It means an organic blending of agriculture and industry."[17]

The Rural Industries project that was launched in Andhra Pradesh in April, 1963, was contemplated as an area development scheme visualising a gradual growth into a chain of industries. Three projects for Andhra Pradesh were primarily sanctioned by the Planning Commission at the centre. The Rural Industries Planning Committee of the Planning Commission recommended that 45 schemes be sanctioned all over the country out of which three are apportioned for Andhra Pradesh. A nucleus provision to Rs. 200,000 was made for each project covering a population of 300 to 500 thousand for a period of four years. Intensification of village and small industries development

[17] See Jaya Prakash Narayan *"Swaraj for the People"*, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Raighat, Varanasi, India, January, 1963, p. 22.

with proper co-ordination of various agencies and full participation of co-operatives and other financial institutions are contemplated.[18]

By village and small industries is not meant the traditional and home industries and handicrafts, though their importance is recognised. The main idea is to introduce technology and scientific tools towards procuring better production and securing greater employment. To create an industrial climate in the rural areas conducive to general engineering workshops are to be located to promote specialisation, intermediate techniques, and methods of production.

Surveys by the Andhra Pradesh government have shown a vast potential for industries based on castor seeds, limestone, steatite, china clay, pottery, bone meal, soap, furniture, footwear, readymade garments, agricultural implements, buckets, cycle parts etc. All these potentialities are to be tapped and all manpower intelligently exploited; an amount of Rs. 75,000 is earmarked for loans to small private entrepreneurs, co-operative societies and artisans. Being agriculturally biased, there is a dearth of strong entrepreneurship in the state and a certain amount of governmental aid becomes unavoidable. The typical rural rich man's tendency, if he were to experiment, is to do so with government money rather than with the money that his own agricultural produce has brought. His own surplus money is hoarded or goes into increasing his holding by tempting the smaller peasant to sell away his land. The evils of abusing the loans or sites allotted for the industry, or mishandling the good tools provided for them are all concomitant factors of inefficient supervision and corrupt administration. Hence, more emphasis should be on co-operative societies with strict supervision.

The calculation that setting up of small-scale industries would throw open new avenues of employment for rural people without at the same time calling for huge capital is not altogether correct. ". . . the idea that small industries are less capital-intensive and more labour-intensive may be true in the case of traditional enterprises and such enterprises may show higher output-capital ratios compared to smaller units. . . . But if we are talking about small factories (and not handicrafts or household industries) we have to change our views. In the modern sector, large industries have an advantage over smaller ones. With growth in size they enjoy economies of scale. These enable them to produce a unit of output with less labour and capital than smaller factories in the same line of production."[19]

Some economists have also expressed their own misgivings about the efficacy of these small-scale schemes as factors stimulating capital formation and growth: "When investment is in small-scale industries, a large portion of the output is paid out in wages and the overall rate of savings will be lower. This leads to less capital accumulation and slower growth of economy".[20]

A discussion of this factor is beyond the scope of this article, though it has a great bearing on the final purpose behind these schemes. As has been already indicated, in the implementation of these schemes there is a certain tinge of revivalism and an attempt at reconciliation with the modern techniques – eating the cake and having it too!

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[18] Planning Commission D.O. letter No. VSI/26(3)/62 dated 29.6.1962 and also Planning Commission (Govt. of India) Rural Industries Planning Committee letter No. RIPC/7(1)/62 dated 28/29-8-1962.

[19] See K. T. Ramakrishna "Government Assistance to Small-scale Industries", Asian Economic Review, India, Feb., 1965, p. 169.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

The whole scheme of rural industrial development by definition has to be on a different plane from industrial development in the urban areas. The urban industrial programmes are therefore directly under the state ministry. Because of their magnitude, local authorities will find it difficult to administer the growing industrial estates schemes. In addition to these, there are the other small-scale industries developed through the state government's development plan, under the control of the directorate of Commerce and Industries of the state government. Then there are the small-scale and cottage industries to be developed by the panchayati raj bodies at the rural areas. Under the National Extension Services there is a Small-scale Industry Extension Officer attached to more than half the number of blocks all over the country. In addition to all these schemes, this present scheme again appears a superfluity, enjoying a distinction without a difference. Of course in this scheme there is a certain measure of decentralisation. The three project areas are under their respective Project Implementation committees consisting of three prominent men of the area, the chairman of the Zilla Parishad, the presidents of the samithis within the area, the district collector, the assistant director of industries and commerce, the deputy registrar of the co-operative societies, the district forest officer, the district agricultural officer and the project development officer. Thus this body consists of the elected element, nominated gentry and the official element to carry out the schemes with a certain measure of autonomy with regard to appointments, giving of loans, institution of projects, etc. This also has the additional built-in feature of co-ordination between the government officials at the district level and the office bearers of the panchayati raj bodies. The nominated element composed of prominent local men will act as balance wheels for the proper functioning of the schemes, since the chairman is from among them.

There is an organic link between these three Project Implementation Committees and the state government. A State level advisory committee consisting of the Minister for Industries as the chairman, Minister for Food and Co-operation, Minister for Planning, Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Board, the three chairmen of the three Project Implementation Committees, the Director of Industries and Commerce and four prominent men as members, ensures proper formulation and execution of detailed programmes.

It is in this broad organisational aspect, in the fact of its being sponsored by the planning commission (All India) and in its better facility for co-ordination with all the important agencies, that this scheme is distinct from the other small-scale industries schemes.

The point that the future will have to decide as these schemes grow in number and are able to register a certain modicum of success is whether they should be brought completely under the management of the panchayati raj institutions. At present the executive up to samithi level are among the members of the implementation committees. Among several questions already posed by Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan, President of the All India Panchayat Parishad in that body's study camp on 9th April this year, are:

(1) What type of industries should be allotted to the panchayati raj sector?, and

(2) Is any consideration to be given to the size of the industries?

As the panchayati raj institutions grow stronger in their exercise of political power they would naturally tend to take up all rural schemes directly under

their supervision though they might ask the state governments to carry the baby of finances. There is an Andhra Pradesh Chamber of Panchayati Raj which may be in a position to finance the ancilliary projects like procurement-cum-marketing agencies. As panchayati raj institutions are corporate bodies, they can themselves receive loans and venture on industrial schemes as time advances. They may be in a better position to assess the local needs and deficiencies and plan accordingly. They would then be able to reinforce their power as semi-autonomous local units.

All the organisational devices, although important in themselves, cannot secure the measure of success envisaged. Loans that are given to individual entrepreneurs in these areas must not be frittered away, landing the project implementation committees and the state government involved in the unhappy task of recovering the debts. On the contrary, if the rich peasantry could be induced to 'dishoard' their surplus agricultural incomes and gold, and could be shown that investment in small-scale industry may be more profitable, that factor would conduce to a quicker spread of the industrial chain without much strain on the government.

Granting of government loans has various ramifications in developing societies; the administration suffers from an unwillingness to take up responsibility and face failures. This is coupled with the fear, imaginary or real, of facing the charge of corruption, favouritism and fraudulent preferences, on the one hand, and heavy political pressures from day to day contacts with people, on the other, conspire to make the loan granting operations hesitant, tardy and vexatious.

"The difficulties this presents are obvious in a small industrial loan programme where loans are based on discretion, and errors are not recoverable through security. If such loans were not risky there would be no need for government to undertake them. Because they are risky there will be errors and losses – and very likely political capital out of them, parliamentary questions and demands for inquiries. . . . The condition of accepting responsibility is freedom to make honest mistakes."[21]

The small-scale industries need all the other furniture like electricity, good transport, and procurement-cum-sales facilities without which they cannot thrive. Finally, the human element and its unpredictable vagaries cannot be under-estimated. Those who receive training as artisans must pursue the trade. All these require a close follow up and a constant reappraisal. The surveys so far conducted have been too random and slipshod. They should now yield place to a more intensive and more scientific survey so that these schemes do not end in financial loss, or as mere paper schemes satisfying none.

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[21] "Small Industry in a North Indian Town", Ministry of Commerce and Industry, G.O.I. 1956, p. 49.

For an enterprising entrepreneur there are also other governmental and quasi-governmental agencies, like the Department of Industries and Commerce under the State Aid to Industries Act, the Andhra Pradesh Industrial Development Corporation, the Andra Pradesh State Financial Corporation, the National Small Industries Corporation Ltd., and the State Bank of India and Commercial Banks. But the point is the lack of such spirt of enterprise among the rural rich.

A Profile of the Portfolio Councillor in Northern Nigeria

by G. W. Fairholm

The Northern Region of Nigeria is playing an increasingly important role in that country's development and, at the local level, the most important men in the North are the native authority portfolio councillors. The portfolio councillors play a key role in the planning and operation of the functional responsibilities of local government. The direction and character of the job they are building for themselves is forging the character of local public administration in the North.

Over two-thirds of the land area of Nigeria and approximately sixty per cent of its people are contained within the seventy-one native authorities of the Northern Region. The native authorities, which are the principal unit of local government, are administered in three ways – through the portfolio or ministerial system, through the committee system, or through a single administrator. Of these the portfolio system is the most widely used, the others being generally experimental. All of the largest and most important native authorities follow the portfolio system.

Executive responsibility for conducting service programmes falls to the portfolio councillor. In this role he assumes both policy-making and policy-implementing activities. He sits on the council of the native authority as a fully-fledged voting member and has administrative direction of the portfolio of one or more functional departments of the local government.

Portfolio councillors are selected, as are all councillors, by election, by nomination or from traditional positions in the local jurisdiction. The tendency, is to draw the portfolio councillor from traditional or nominated councillors rather than from elected ones. The idea of the portfolio councillor can be traced far back into the cultural heritage of the Fulani leadership class in the North and draws some of its prestige and status as an organizational form from this historical factor.

The total number of portfolio councillors varies. There are from four to fifteen in a native authority depending upon the size and scope of its operation and the degree of importance attached to traditional membership by the individual native authority.

Personal background of councillors

An analysis of the age, experience and qualifications of native authority councillors in the large Northern Emirates reveals certain general characteristics. Native authority councillors may be selected from traditional ruling families; nominated by the Regional Minister for Local Government;[1] or elected. The elective principle is relatively new in Northern Nigeria and has not

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[1] Often the candidate is selected by the native authority Council, itself, and merely approved by the Minister. The Minister must also approve all traditional members.

yet achieved sufficient public status to attract qualified men to stand for office. Voters generally must choose between men who are locally popular but have few qualifications.

Elected councillors, therefore, who hold portfolios are in the minority.[2] There is, of course, no legal prohibition against elected councillors holding office. The Regional Government has an enunciated policy favouring elected majorities on councils, but at the present time, elected councillors generally lack the qualifications and background necessary to handle competently the affairs of modern local government. As an example, only one elected councillor interviewed for the study was literate in English.

Traditional councillors, by reason of their historical position in local government affairs, fill a considerable number of positions in portfolio councillor ranks. Nominated councillors are usually selected because of a number of years of government service in the native authority and, therefore, bring to the native authority council a valuable reservoir of practical experience and background in the various service areas of government.

Generally speaking, portfolio councillors have many years of public experience in their particular native authority as well as experience in regional government activities. The average portfolio councillor in the seven native authorities surveyed has 18.5 years of public experience. Almost uniformly, this experience was in departmental work in the particular native authority in which the councillor was serving as portfolio councillor. The average portfolio councillor has also achieved a formal education of at least secondary school level. Some portfolio councillors have undertaken study at the college level, and a few have visited the United Kingdom or the United States for advanced study. Table II illustrates these characteristics according to the size of the native authority.

Even among portfolio councillors, however, there is wide variation among individual councillors in a native authority and among councillors in separate native authorities. The size of the native authority seems to have a direct bearing on the degree of skill and experience of councillors. Since councillors are selected almost exclusively from the people of the authority, their experience and training is directly related to the area they serve. The larger and richer the native authority, the more likely it is that councillors will have had advanced educational opportunities. This is borne out in the statistics in Table II. Councillors in smaller native authorities average only Secondary III education and have no college graduates among them. The larger jurisdictions, on the other hand, average three councillors each with teacher training college background and Secondary IV general education level, and there are four councillors with overseas training.

Councillors in large jurisdictions also have served in government for longer periods than those in the smaller areas. There is a ten-year experience difference between councillors in native authorities over 500,000 and those below this population figure. Average years of experience for the three small native authorities toured is fifteen years, that for the three large native authorities is twenty-five years.

The reasons for this considerable difference in technical qualifications of councillors are probably directly related to financial resources. Tax revenues of the Northern Region local government agencies are directly related to population. The high yield taxes are levied on adult male citizens and native

[2] Of the seven native authorities visited and the twenty-six portfolio councillors interviewed, only one was elected, the Councillor for Education, Fika.

authorities with larger number of inhabitants are therefore richer than the less populated districts. They can afford to build schools, staff them, and provide scholarship aid, and government service has been and often still is the logical, indeed often the only suitable, vocation for educated men.

TABLE I

Number of councillors showing method of choice

N.A.	*Traditional*	Nominated	*Elected*	*Total*	*Portfolio*
Kwara	6	4	24	34	4
Fika	4	5	6	15	5
Igbirra	—	4	20	24	—
Zaria	12	—	7	19	7
Katsina ...	5	9	5	19	9
Sokoto	5	8	7	20	11
	32	30	69	131	36

TABLE II

Personal characteristics of portfolio councillors

N.A. and pop. class	*Average age*	*Average experience*	*Average education*	*Attended teacher training college*	*Overseas training*	*Ex-teachers*
Kwara						
50-100,000	38	10	Primary	—	—	—
Fika						
50-100,000	36	24	Mid. III	—	—	—
Igbirra						
100-250,000	37	15	Mid. IV	—	—	—
Zaria						
500-1,000,000	50	26	Mid. IV	1	—	1
Katsina						
1,000,000+	50	28	College	7	3	7
Sokoto						
1,000,000+	46	22	Mid. IV	1	1	1
Overall average	42	18.5	Mid. IV	—	—	—
TOTALS	—	—	—	6	4	9

Portfolio departments

Portfolio councillors may be related to ministers in function. That is, they hold a portfolio of one or more departments of local government.

The organizational division of service departments among portfolio councillors is very erratic. There appears to be no standard procedure for assigning individual departments. Certain very general statements can, however, be made concerning the usual departmental combinations in a particular portfolio.

Finance and treasury activities are, generally speaking, the sole responsibility of one portfolio councillor. Agriculture, veterinary, and forestry departments are usually assigned to one portfolio councillor under the general heading of natural resources. Works, urban and rural water supply, and land survey departments activities are very often given to one councillor as are police and prisons activities or medical and health functions. The central administration is usually the responsibility of one portfolio councillor (often the senior councillor) and generally includes activities of the Chief Scribe and the Local Government Secretary. The education activities of the native authority usually come under one portfolio. These include the departments of education, public enlightenment, and, very often, information. The social welfare activities of the native authority are usually linked with the co-operative movement under one portfolio councillor and one portfolio councillor is usually solely responsible for supervision of the court system.

It must be emphasized, however, that the above general groupings of service areas are not standard. There are great variations among individual native authorities. It is not uncommon, for example, to have one portfolio councillor responsible for police and urban water supply (e.g. Katsina), another for local government and agriculture or for treasury and health (e.g. Fika) – wholely unrelated activities functionally.

General duties of portfolio councillors

The identification of specific duties of portfolio councillors, given the existing situation of diversity in age, background and particular service responsibility, is a difficult task. There are certain general duties and responsibilities that all councillors have in common and in which portfolio councillors function as members of the overall policy-making body. The section which follows will be concerned only with those tasks peculiar to the portfolio councillor. These include administrative supervision, control, and policy direction. The duties and responsibilities noted here represent a composite of duties of all portfolio councillors as seen by the portfolio councillors themselves and by the department heads.[3] No one portfolio councillor functions in all of these roles with equal energy.

These responsibilities are classified into homogenous headings for ease of reference. They include (*a*) general supervisory responsibilities for departmental staff, programmes and goals, (*b*) executive responsibilities, (*c*) committee responsibilities, (*d*) special council duties, and (*e*) liaison responsibilities between government and native authority departments. Specific duties are discussed under each classification.

[3] Discussions of individual duties of councillors reflect the results of interviews with twenty-six councillors and seventy-five department heads relative to the duties of portfolio councillors.

Supervisory responsibilities

The portfolio councillor is the chief administrative officer of the functional areas within his portfolio. In this capacity, he must spend much of his time in assessing the work assignments, setting priorities, and controlling progress. In this supervisory role, the portfolio councillor acts, especially in the small and medium sized native authorities, as a super-department head in planning, co-ordinating, controlling and evaluating work programmes and projects.

Supervision of activities of department heads

No matter what the particular departmental areas of responsibility, the portfolio councillor is concerned with the general supervision and control of the activities of the department heads under his portfolio, which involves review of monthly or quarterly departmental reports. The department heads generally consult almost daily with the portfolio councillor on the work-a-day problems of the department, and final decisions on all major departmental service proposals must be referred to him before they are implemented.

Correcting improper procedure

The portfolio councillor has basic responsibility for the implementation of native authority council policy in his portfolio. He has, therefore, the responsibility and the duty to correct improper procedures in the implementation of that policy in his department. He is limited, however, in his ability to do this. In almost every case the native authority councillor undertakes to correct departmental work programmes through the department head. Only in minor instances, where the loss of time or money are overruling considerations, will the portfolio councillor undertake personally to change departmental directives.

Checking departmental expenditure

A most effective tool to the portfolio councillor in ensuring the implementation of native authority policy is periodic checking and control of departmental expenditure. The councillor has the responsibility of ensuring that expenditure is made in accordance with the approved estimate for such projects made by the native authority. All councillors check departmental expenditures, vouchers and departmental vote accounts books monthly or quarterly to ensure compliance with the overall estimates of the department.

Inspection

Continuing effort is expended by portfolio councillors in travelling throughout the native authority inspecting and evaluating departmental work projects within their portfolios. Each portfolio councillor travels the entire area so that each section of the native authority is covered by all portfolio councillors several times in a year. Inspection is the emphasis in touring.

In some cases the portfolio councillor tours alone except for his personal staff and the various district heads whose jurisdiction he visits. Correlation of the results of inspection tours with the department head is undertaken at the end of each tour. In other cases, the portfolio councillor is accompanied by the department head and major corrective action can be taken on the spot by the department head as needed.

Portfolio councillors have, as part of their touring responsibility, the right and duty to inspect activities other than those involved exclusively with their

own portfolios. In touring, the portfolio councillor acts as an agent of the native authority council and is responsible for general council policy. Correlation of the results of inspection tours is accomplished with other portfolio councillors upon return to headquarters.

Advice and guidance on administrative problems

The portfolio councillor is responsible for the direction and guidance of his departments administratively. His role here is one of planning and programme implementation. In this effort he relies not only on his knowledge and the techniques of leadership but on the advantages coming from his traditional title and rank.

Advice on staff actions

Portfolio councillors have the basic responsibility of advising the department head and the native authority about staff and personnel problems in his portfolio. In doing this, the portfolio councillor recommends promotions, demotions, discipline, pay increments, transfers, training, etc., to the native authority council and the establishments committee. He has the corollary responsibility of advising department heads of decisions of the Establishments Committee which affect individual departments.

Executive responsibilities

Non-policy decisions affecting important departmental programmes and executive responsibility following all major policy decisions of the Council fall to the portfolio councillor. In carrying out this role, he undertakes planning, co-ordination, and control functions.

Consultation with staff

The portfolio councillor must inform himself continually about the operation, programmes, philosophy and ideas of his staff. In doing this, he must have frequent consultations with the department head and key members of the staff to ensure programmes are being undertaken according to native authority policy, and that policy may be modified to meet the changing needs of the department as seen by the technical experts who execute it.

Approval of major projects

Portfolio councillors have a responsibility to approve and sponsor new, expanded, or emergency projects and programmes to the native authority council. It is their responsibility to justify large and unbudgeted expenditures to the Council.

Future planning

The portfolio councillor, more than any other single individual, is responsible for the advance thinking of the department and for planning future activities, expansion, and work projects. This is one of the basic requirements of leadership that portfolio councillors exercise in developing not only the individual department but the overall native authority.

Liaison with other portfolio departments

In the development of a particular departmental work and service programme it is often necessary that other departments or other agencies of the native authority be involved. In these cases, the portfolio councillor must work with other councillors in securing complete understanding and co-operation on these joint endeavours.

Ensuring good departmental public relations

Portfolio councillors, with department heads must ensure that the general public is aware of and understands the implications of the particular service programmes. To ensure this, the portfolio councillor must meet and mingle with the people in all parts of the area. He must make himself available to the public to explain, justify and defend native authority policy in his portfolio.

Departmental representation of the council

An important responsibility of the councillor is to provide sufficient personal representation of the individual department to the native authority council. Department heads as a rule are not authorised to attend council meetings and as a result have little personal opportunity to develop and justify departmental activities to the council as a body. The portfolio councillor must undertake to ensure that the departmental philosophy and objectives are understood and acceptable to the council.

Committee responsibilities

As members of the various standing and special committees in the native authority the portfolio councillors play an effective role in development and implementation of native authority policy. Often portfolio councillors form a majority on the standing committees of the native authority such as finance, establishments and tenders. Functions of the councillor in the committee context include both policy development and administrative supervision.

Policy

As a committee member, the councillor will be called upon to investigate and study in detail proposed policy innovations referred to the committee by the full native authority council. In doing this, the committee members undertake to study local needs and to prepare a suggested policy proposal for submission to the full council for debate and action. Many portfolio councillors have extensive experience in the functional areas of primary interest of the committee and can bring their background to bear on the policy development process.

Administrative supervision

A second major function of the councillor, as a committee member, deals with the control of operating departments. Committees in the native authority have a very close administrative as well as policy relationship with operating departments under their control. Very often key officials in a department are members of the committee or attend regularly all committee meetings. Councillors often become closely involved with control of routine operations. Establishments committees, for example, often interview all applicants and

recommend employment of new staff without direct reference to the requesting department. Finance committee members often have continuing responsibilities for checking financial records and books of original entry as well as complete control of budget decisions and emphasis.

Special council duties

In addition to routine and continuing duties as a member of the native authority council, the portfolio councillor has several duties specifically connected with his portfolio.

Policy initiation

Portfolio councillors have a particular responsibility to advise the native authority on all matters of actual and proposed policy affecting their portfolios. Tradition gives the portfolio councillor the responsibility and the duty to propose all new subsidiary legislation and policy affecting his portfolio. Other councillors may suggest policy programmes and proposals for particular departments but the actual official initiation of the policy must be left to the portfolio councillor.

Touring

In touring, the portfolio councillor, in addition to the inspection aspects of his job, must make himself available to the people to answer their questions, promulgate new native authority policy, and assist the citizen in his complaints and causes of action before the native authority council. He is the council's most convenient and continuing contact with the people.

Government liaison

Co-ordination with Regional Government technical representatives constitutes a continuing relationship for portfolio councillors. In many areas, co-ordination and co-operation with representatives of the Regional Government involved in similar undertakings is required by law; in other cases the legal requirements may be lacking but the practical need to co-ordinate exists. The portfolio councillor has a direct responsibility to ensure that the agents and facilities of the Regional Government are utilized to their fullest extent and that departmental work programmes which require the approval of the regional government receive such approval before action is taken.

Analysis of general applicability of the duties of councillors

In the paragraphs above the general duties and responsibilities of portfolio councillors have been analysed. This summary represents the consensus of a number of councillors and department heads regarding the duties of the portfolio councillor. None of the portfolio councillors in any native authority visited described his duties as completely as the duties listed above. Nor did department heads see this pattern completely. Following is a summary of the general duties of portfolio councillors showing the extent of general agreement as to these responsibilities by department heads and by the councillors themselves. Analysis of Table III indicates certain interesting aspects of the understanding of the duties of portfolio councillors by department heads and by councillors themselves.

TABLE III

Duties of councillors as recognised by department heads and councillors

Duty	*Recognised by*	
	Department head	*Portfolio councillor*
Government liaison	x	x
Supervision of department heads	x	x
Touring	x	x
Advice and guidance on administrative problems	x	x
Correcting improper procedures	x	x
Checking departmental expenditures	x	x
Advice on staff actions	x	x
Preparation for meetings		x
Support of council policy	x	x
Policy instruction	x	x
Administrative oversight	x	x
Policy introduction		x
Consultation with staff		x
Approval of major projects	x	x
Future planning		x
Liaison with other portfolio councillors	x	x
Ensuring good departmental public relations		x
Departmental representation on N.A. Council	x	x

TABLE IV

Duties of councillors by size of native authority

Duty	*Small N.A.*	*Medium N.A.*	*Large N.A.*
Government liaison	x	x	x
Supervision of department heads	x	x	x
Touring	x	x	x
Advice and guidance on administrative problems	x	x	x
Correcting improper procedures	x		
Checking departmental expenditures	x	x	x
Advice on staff actions	x	x	x
Preparation for meetings	x	x	x
Support of council policy	x	x	x
Policy instruction	x	x	x
Administrative supervision	x	x	x
Consultation with staff		x	x
Approval of major projects	x	x	x
Future planning			x
Liaison with other portfolio councillors	x	x	x
Ensuring good departmental public relations	x	x	x
Departmental representation on N.A. Council	x	x	x

Councillors uniformly agreed that departmental public relations are one of their major responsibilities. Department heads, on the other hand, failed to mention this as one of the basic responsibilities and duties of portfolio councillors. Department heads did indicate that public education of departmental objectives was their responsibility but failed to ascribe any responsibility for this education programme to the portfolio councillor.

Future planning was also generally understood by councillors to be one of their basic responsibilities. Department heads, however, failed to recognise this as a responsibility of either themselves or the portfolio councillor. Perhaps this is a general failing of native authorities in that the exigencies of the moment seem to far outshadow the advantages of advanced planning to overcome future problems.

Portfolio councillors generally provide the basis for the routine operation of the native authority. They form a *focus of responsibility* that generally is not found in the other types of native authorities, especially those operating under the British-oriented committee system. Through their tradition of governmental responsibility, portfolio councillors, especially those holding traditional titles and representing tradition-cultural leadership patterns, often offer the only leadership talent in the native authority.

Their dual position as voting councillors in the policy bodies of the native authority and as the chief operating executive of functional service areas places them in key positions of leadership and authority both administratively and legislatively. In such capacities they provide a continuity of action and a degree of stability in local government, especially in their relations with other levels of government.

This dual policy-making-policy-implementing role presents a problem to the country, however, in achieving a broadly based, effective local government structure capable of building and maintaining a viable, efficient local service machine. The highly centralized control exercised by most portfolio councillors places before them great temptation to exploit their position both personally and politically. Some system of checks and balances seems indicated to ensure that such abuses of authority are not allowed to occur.

Uncontrolled this system could degenerate into centres of corruption which Nigeria can ill afford to foster. Without doubt, the portfolio councillor is a very important part of the overall development of native authorities operating under this organisational arrangement. They have executive responsibility for the implementation of legislative enactments and policy statements and they have frequent opportunity to make personal and individual contact with the citizens of the area and thus play an important role in the general enlightenment of the public to the services, responsibilities, requirements and programmes of the local government departments in developing the country.

The portfolio councillor is generally equipped to carry out the basic local government responsibilities. The tendency to combine policy direction with policy implementation constitutes a challenge to the future vitality and development of local government, however, and emphasizes the desirability of developing a strong sense of professionalism in administrative roles to counterbalance the possibility of abuses of the public trust.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED KINGDOM – *Conference on East African law*

A series of Conferences on Commonwealth laws has been held by the British Institute of International and Comparative Law at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, Berkshire, during the past few years. Cumberland Lodge is made available by the Trustees of St. Catharine's Trust, and the purpose of these conferences is to enable practitioners, students and others interested in the laws of the various parts of the Commonwealth to meet in informal and attractive surroundings for the purpose of discussing legal developments and other aspects of the legal structures of their own countries. Representatives of the Bench and Bar and of the universities in the United Kingdom and in the countries concerned attend the conferences, but the gatherings are held mainly for the benefit of Bar students and law students, both undergraduate and postgraduate, at the English universities.

The most recent of such conferences was that on "The Law in East Africa" which was intended to embrace the legal activities of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, and to give delegates an opportunity of a comparative study of the institutions of those territories. It was held during the weekend 30th April to 3rd May, 1965, and was opened in the evening of Friday the 30th April by the Rt. Hon. Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, Chairman of St. Catharine's Trust and Chairman of the Council of Management of the British Institute. Lord Denning gave a short introductory address and then took the chair at the first lecture of the conference which was delivered by Mr. M. K. Mwendwa, Solicitor-General of Kenya, on "Constitutional Contrasts in the East African Territories".

On the following day, Mr. J. W. P. B. McAuslan, of University College, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, delivered a lecture on "Administrative Law in East Africa: with special reference to Kenya", the Chairman being Professor Arthur Phillips, Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Southampton. Later in the morning, Mr. D. J. Kkambo Mugerwa, Solicitor-General of Uganda, gave a talk on "Current Land Tenure in East Africa: Some Contrasts". The Chairman on this occasion was the Rt. Hon. Sir Kenneth Diplock, a Lord Justice of Her Majesty's Court of Appeal. In the afternoon there was a sight-seeing tour by motor-coach to Windsor, which was joined by a large number of those attending the conference. On the return of the coach party, tea was served, and thereafter Mr. A. St. J. Hannigan, Head of the Department of Law and Government of University College, Nairobi, delivered a lecture on "Some Aspects of Local Government in East Africa", which was chaired by Mr. Richard Rugarabamu, Senior State Attorney of Tanzania. After dinner an address on "The Place and Future of Customary Law in East Africa" was delivered by Mr. Eugene Cotran, Lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, the Chairman being Mr. M. E. K. Kagwa, Chief Registrar of the High Court of Uganda.

The third day was Sunday, and the morning was left free to enable the visitors to attend religious services. After lunch, Mr. W. L. Twining, Lecturer of the University College, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, delivered a lecture on "Legal Education in East Africa". The Chairman was Mr. Norman S. Marsh, Director of the British Institute. After tea a general discussion was held on all

the subjects in respect of which lectures had been delivered during the conference. This was presided over by Lord Justice Diplock, and was the occasion of a valuable exchange of views.

Among those present in addition to those specifically mentioned above were: Professor A. Allott, Professor of African Law, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; Mr. A. M. F. Webb, C.M.G., Q.C., of the Lord Chancellor's Office and former Attorney-General of Kenya; Mr. G. H. B. Davis, former Principal of the Kenya School of Law; Mr. Muir V. S. Hunter, Q.C.; Professor A. T. Markose, Head of the Department of Law, University Centre, Ernakulam, Kerala, India; Mr. H. F. von Ploetz, Wissenschaftlicher Assistant at the Law Faculty of the University of Marburg, Germany; Mr. P. H. B. Allsop of Sweet & Maxwell Ltd.; Mr. D. Musch, Member of the Bar of the State of Virginia, U.S.A.; Mr. H. H. Marshall, C.M.G., Q.C., Assistant Director (Commonwealth) of the British Institute; Mr. B. Misra and Miss F. R. Livingstone, Research Assistants at the British Institute, and 26 students, of whom 12 came from Kenya, 6 from Tanzania, 7 from Uganda and 1 from Zambia.

As on previous occasions the Institute was very pleased to welcome the wives of a number of the senior guests. Their presence on these occasions always adds to the social atmosphere and the enjoyment of the occasion.

INDIA – *Report on auditing of Panchayati Raj bodies*

A study team, under the chairmanship of Mr. R. K. Khanna, set up by the Indian Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation to suggest methods for strengthening the system of audit of Panchayati Raj institutions, has presented its report. The main recommendations are as follows:

(1) That primary auditors should be employed at Panchayat Samiti (block) level for the audit of 40 to 50 Panchayats.

(2) That the Comptroller and Auditor General should have the power of audit over Panchayati Raj institutions.

(3) That Panchayats with an income of over Rs. 10,000 should have a full-time secretary. Smaller Panchayats would share a secretary on a group basis.

(4) That a committee be constituted, consisting of the representatives of the Accountant-General, the Development Commissioner and the Examiner of Local Fund Accounts, to review outstanding audit queries.

INDIA – *Report of the committee on Panchayati Raj elections*

A committee, set up by the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation to study the various methods of election to the Panchayati Raj bodies, has presented its report to Government. The main recommendations may be summarised as follows:

(1) Voting should be compulsory.

(2) While they should not be banned, political parties should not be encouraged to participate in Panchayati Raj elections.

(3) Seats should be reserved for women and, in certain cases, for scheduled castes.

(4) No outsiders should be co-opted on to the Panchayat bodies, nor should the District Collector be ex-officio President of the Zila Parishad or its Standing Committees.

(5) The Panchayat President should be elected directly by the voters, but the Samiti (Block) Chairman and the Zila Parishad (District) President should be elected by an electoral college.

(6) The strength of Panchayats (village level) should be between 9 and 19; of Panchayat Samitis (block level) between 20 and 40; and of Zila Parishads (district level) between 40 and 60.

(7) A Panchayat Commissioner should be appointed at district level, with powers to guide, supervise, control and inspect all Panchayati Raj institutions in his district. At state level, a board should be set up to perform similar functions and to prepare an annual report on the working of Panchayati Raj institutions.

SWAZILAND: *Tenant labour on farms*

There are some 10,000 tenant labourers or 'squatters' living on European-owned farms in Swaziland, concentrated mainly in two of the country's four districts, who in return for the right to reside, to cultivate a limited amount of land and to graze a limited number of stock, must provide an agreed amount of labour for the farmer each year. Their presence gives rise to frictions: farmers complain that squatters frequently fail to fulfill their labour obligations and keep more than the permitted number of stock. Squatters complain of adverse conditions of employment, often without wages or adequate rations, and of unreasonable demands for labour from children and other relatives of the kraal head. There are also allegations of evictions without proper cause. Agreements governing this relationship are invariably oral and there exists a wide variety of conditions. Similar frictions have been experienced in other countries where the same system exists of labour in return for the right to occupy land, notably in Kenya and in the Republic of South Africa, and there is no doubt that the system can give rise to serious social, economic and political problems. In South Africa an Inter-departmental Commission of Inquiry recently described the system as "antiquated, not suited to modern farming techniques, and in many cases the cause of sensitive points of racial friction".

A local committee appointed in Swaziland in 1961 declared that "the system whereby a labourer provides labour in lieu of rental under a tenancy agreement is undesirable in a modern society and should be progressively replaced by a system of paid labour for which the employer is at liberty to provide permanent accommodation for the labourer and his family, in this way building up a stable and permanent labour force". The committee's short-term solution was the enactment of legislation, based on the Kenya Resident Labourers Ordinance (since repealed), under which all tenant/labour contracts between farmer and squatter would be written and registered. Reservations were, however, expressed on the suitability of such legislation on the main ground that it combined in one law and in one contract the rights and obligations of farmer and squatter both in regard to the use of land and to labour. "The tying together of labour and land use in a single contractual arrangement tends to depress both wages and the supplementary income derived from cultivation and stock", to quote the 1953 East African Royal Commission's Report, with reference to Kenya.

At the request of the Swaziland Government Mr. J. C. D. Lawrance, O.B.E., visited Swaziland in 1964 to undertake a study of the position of African tenant labour resident on private farms and to make recommendations for dealing with the problems caused by their presence. In his report Mr. Lawrance agreed with the committee's conclusion that the only solution to these problems is the gradual abolition of the system, but that as an interim measure legislation should be enacted to govern the relationship between farmer and squatter. On the form of this legislation, however, his proposals differed from those of the committee. He suggested that the relationship between farmer as employer and squatter as employee should be governed by existing labour legislation, in particular by the Employment Proclamation and the Wages Proclamation; and that the relationship between farmer as landlord and squatter as tenant should be governed by a separate, new law providing for tenancy agreements on conditions applicable to the tenant/labour relationship, for which rent would be payable.

The draft legislation contained in the report makes provision for conditions governing all tenancy agreements and for attestation, termination, renewal (automatic for one year unless requisite notice has been given) and variation. It also provides a procedure for the removal of unauthorised squatters on conviction by a court. The separation of labour and land use contracts should facilitate the desired change towards a system of permanent, housed labour. The proposed legislation is therefore in the nature of a short-term device to enable mutually beneficial labour for land relationships to continue for the time being under improved conditions for the squatter. The ultimate aim, however, is abolition of the squatter system and for this reason the draft law contains important provision to enable district officers to refuse to attest agreements which result in an increase in the number of squatter families on any one farm and to enable H.M. Commissioner, acting possibly on the advice of a committee, to restrict or to prohibit the issue of agreements in any particular area.

UNITED KINGDOM – *Special Commonwealth awards*

Three more Special Commonwealth Awards of £1,500 per annum – for eminent academics taking up, for a period of at least two years, important posts in universities in developing Commonwealth countries – have been made by Mrs. Barbara Castle, Minister of Overseas Development. These awards – which are additional to the salaries and allowances for the posts – are made on the advice of the Committee for University Secondment.

The recipients are:

Mr. A. A. Milne, Head of the Mechanisms, Noise Control and Vibration Division of the National Engineering Laboratory, who is being seconded for two years to the Chair of Mechanical Engineering at the Institute of Technology at Kharagpur, India.

Professor H. Hanbury, formerly Vinerian Professor of Law at Oxford University, in respect of his tenure for two years of the Deanship of the Faculty of Law at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Professor Kenneth Robinson, Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and Professor of Commonwealth Affaire in the University of London, who has accepted appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong.

Book Reviews

THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF THE NIGERIAN REPUBLIC, by B. O. Nwabueze, *Butterworth and Co.*, 1964; pp. 454; 77s. 6d.

From time to time there appears in the columns of the national press some letter bewailing the fact that this or that African state, until recently a member of our colonial empire, has now forwaken the 'Westminster Model'. This is only comprehensible, surely, if one completely ignores the manner in which we attained this model, and the eccentric characteristics of the British people which this model happens to suit. With little more thought one may understand how alien and how utterly unsuitable this model often is in the wholly different circumstances of African society and African traditions. It should rather be a constant source of wonder that so many new members of the Commonwealth have seen fit to adopt, in its outward trappings at any rate, our own peculiar system of parliamentary government. That Nigeria is one of those who have adopted our model in more than its outward trappings in clear from Mr. Nwabueze's new book. The author is a member of the staff of the University of Lagos and this is his second book on the law of Nigeria. In it one finds all that one would expect to find in a standard work upon the subject. Thus the author examines the nature and characteristics of the Nigerian constitution, and he takes pains to point out where it is similar and where dissimilar to the English constitutional system. He considers in detail the various organs of Government, both Federal and Regional. He considers the division of powers. He traces the constitutional and political history of this great African state from the founding of the British Consulate in 1848 until the creation of the Republic in 1963. It is perhaps pertinent to observe that much of this has been done before by Mr. Odumusu whose book on the Nigerian Constitution was published in 1963. The question must always arise, is another book on the subject justified, when so many other aspects of Nigerian law have yet to receive attention? This is a different kind of book. It is written from a different angle. Politics are of course irretrievably entwined in the subject, and it is I think a valid criticism of the earlier book that its author wrote more from the standpoint of the political historian than from that of the constitutional lawyer. This is a lawyer's book. Mr. Odumusu traced the constitutional progress of his country by political landmarks. His landmarks were the attainment of independence and the crisis in the Western Region. These may be valid landmarks but they are political ones. There has been another since his book appeared, namely the creation of the Republic and Mr. Nwabueze in this new book deals with this, and all the aspects of Republicanism; he also deals with the implications of membership of the Commonwealth and the subject of citizenship, neither of which subjects attracted his predecessor. Mr. Nwabueze sees a much more conspicuous landmark, and it's a lawyer's landmark. Those of us who stand outside the African arena are able to trace the gradual decline of our concept of freedom and liberty there. It is easy for us to condemn, for we take our own freedom for granted. It is easy to forget the centuries of watchfulness and strife which have gone into securing the tolerance which is part of our heritage today. Tolerance is no part of the African scene – yet. Advice is not easily accepted nor criticism tolerated. The heady intoxication of freedom has too often led to a demand for

licence. The strict controls necessary to combat licence lead imperceptibly to tyranny, and the freedom so hard won is frequently frittered away by apathy, sheer neglect or blind devotion to the wrong ideals. Nigeria stands out in this scene like the giant she is. It is encouraging to see that Mr. Nwabueze devotes almost a quarter of his whole book to the study of the fundamental human rights entrenched in Chapter III of the Nigerian Constitution. These he considers in detail and points out the manner in which the Nigerian judiciary have zealously kept the balance between the dignity of government and the rightful freedom of the individual. His land mark is not so much the acts of state to which I have referred above, but the outcry which rose from the Nigerian press and public at the suggested introduction of preventive detention for political opponents, a system well known to many states on the African continent. This outcry from the public resulted in the abandonment of the scheme. Mr. Nwabueze closes with some advice to his own government, which might commend itself to others, upon how to prevent subversion in the first place, so that the need for cure by suppression (or oppression) need not arise. It is a longish book, but a worthwhile book. It is essentially a lawyer's book.

I. G. McLean.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN UGANDA, by Fred G. Burke, *Syracuse University Press*, 1964; pp. 274; $7.50.

Dr. Burke, Associate Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, carried out a field study of local government in Uganda in the '50's. He had the excellent and original idea of undertaking a comparative investigation of the development, under the British administration, of local government in three Uganda districts with very different pre-existing social and political systems. But his interest was not just parochial; he makes his analysis in the context of Uganda's gradual approach to independent nationhood, and the concomitant growth of a political party system, and he has many sensible things to say about these processes. An underlying theme of the book is that Uganda's unusual ethnographic diversity, combined with the traditional and historical pre-eminence of the Baganda (who – with reason – feared that they would be swamped in a unitary state), created problems not shared, at least not in anything like the same measure, by neighbouring states. This indeed was a prime factor in Uganda's delayed achieving of independence.

After a couple of introductory chapters in which the background and political history of the country are clearly set out, Professor Burke goes on to a detailed examination of the history of local government in his three selected areas. These are Bunyoro in western Uganda, coterminous with the traditional kingdom of the same name; Teso, in the east of the country, also a single tribal unit but traditionally lacking any form of central political organization; and neighbouring Bukedi, a district containing several small tribal groups entirely different in language, culture and traditional social organization.

Professor Burke's detailed accounts, especially of recent history, contain much of interest; his first-hand description of a central council meeting in Bunyoro, for example, is admirably vivid and perceptive. He draws significant contrasts between the units studied; thus in traditionally centralized Bunyoro the difficulty was to induce the lower councils to function effectively and to curb the central authority of the Mukama; in segmentary Teso, councils

were much more independent-minded and individualistic, but the new and unfamiliar office of chiefship was resented by the peasants and exploited by its incumbents. In culturally diversified Bukedi the main impediment to development was tribal factionalism, which made the achievement of any effective district administration practically an impossibility. "A major problem in Bunyoro", Burke perceptively writes (p. 227), "has been the tendency for authority to cluster at the centre, while in Bukedi considerable difficulty has been experienced in aggregating sufficient authority at the centre." The book concludes with what is in effect a restatement of Maine's famous thesis (though the author does not say so) that the process of change in small-scale societies is from status (kinship-based) to contractual (territorial) relationships. "The nature of political transition in Africa", he writes (p. 243), "is primarily away from segmented to spatial association", an assertion which if scarcely original is certainly true.

Professor Burke's project, then, was an interesting and worth-while one; his material is well organized and systematically presented, and he has many shrewd things to say. It would be pleasant if the reviewer could stop here. But unfortunately this otherwise useful study is marred in places by careless and unnecessary errors, by no means all of which are minor ones. In Chapter 4 on Bunyoro (the only area on which your reviewer can speak with any authority), there are in its fifty pages no less than thirty errors, ranging from mistakes and inconsistencies in the spelling of place and personal names, and garbled quotations, in one case (p. 75) making nonsense of the passage quoted, to major errors of interpretation and fact. Thus Kabarega did not 'surrender' to the British (p. 73); his successor Kitehimbwa (Karukara) did not 'resign in protest' (p. 80), he was replaced by the British, as the author himself later reports (p.93); and – perhaps most egregious of all – 'Bunyoro's Prince John Iukidi' (Rukidi) did not meet "a violent death . . . at the hands of the Kabaka of Buganda's police" in 1961 (p. 81). He is still, I am assured, alive and well, and he will no doubt be surprised to learn of his untimely demise.

These and many other mistakes could have been avoided with the minimum of checking, and although every allowance must be made for busy academics under pressure to publish, I think that the reader has a right to protest when presented, in what purports to be a scholarly study, with evidence of such reckless carelessness. It must also be added that there is no bibliography (which one would have thought essential in a work of this kind), and that there is no evidence that the author is acquainted with some recent works (such as *East African Chiefs*), which are highly relevant to his theme.

All this is a very great pity, for one would have liked to be able unreservedly to recommend this book, which with a little more careful scholarship would have been very useful indeed.

J. H. M. Beattie.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

AFRICANA BULLETIN (No. 1, 1964). *University of Warsaw*, Poland; pp. 212 (mimeographed).

The first issue of what will be a regular bulletin published by the Centre for African Studies at Warsaw University. It contains six articles and a number of short notes on various African topics, and a surprisingly long list of works by Polish authors on matters connected with Africa.

REVIEW OF COLONIAL RESEARCH 1940-1960, edited by Sir Charles Jefferies. *H.M.S.O., London*, 1964; pp. 238; 21s.

The Editor of this major record of British Colonial Research divides his Review into two parts. In the first, after providing the historical background in which, based on Kew, the eighteenth century saw the first tentative beginnings of botanical research evolve, then recording the modest advances of the next 150 years, culminates in the passage of the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act by the British Parliament – almost an act of faith in the grim month of July, 1940. The Editor proceeds to review the progress made over the next two decades and the practical achievements of the research undertaken in many varied fields. The second part of the Review contains Special Reports on research projects in the spheres of National Resources, Social Services and Public Works – the subjects range from agriculture to local customs, and from medicine to languages.

Lord Hailey contributes a Foreword in which he draws attention to a significant feature of the Review: "the operations of which it presents a record form, in fact, an integral feature of the story of that radical change in the British outlook on the welfare of the Colonial peoples which began to manifest itself during the period intervening between the First and Second World Wars". We all know that Lord Hailey was largely responsible for the radical change to which he refers.

A number of valuable appendices are included which list the membership of Colonial Research Councils and Committees 1942-59 and a bibliography of Research Reports published by H.M.S.O. Finally a map of the world clearly illustrates the vast scope of the research recorded in this Review.

GEOGRAPHERS AND THE TROPICS: LIVERPOOL ESSAYS, edited by R. W. Steel and R. M. Prothero. *Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., London*, 1964; pp. 357; 47s. 6d.

These essays represent the range of geographers' interests in tropical countries, and include contributions on landform evolution, rainfall analysis, settlement history, land use patterns and population mobility.

THE EXPANSION OF WORLD TRADE, edited by Dennis Thompson. *British Institute of International and Comparative Law, London*, 1965; pp. 81; 17s. 6d.

This is the report of a conference held under the auspices of the British Institute at Ditchley Park in July, 1964. Papers were read on the European Economic Community, the Kennedy Round, Commonwealth preference, and co-operation between developing countries.

A GRAMMAR OF THE KOLOKUMA DIALECT OF IJO, by Kay Williamson. *Cambridge University Press (in association with the Institute of African Studies, Ibadan), London*, 1965; pp. 127; 18s.

The second in the West African Language Monograph series, issued in connection with the *Journal of West African Languages*. This is the author's Ph.D. thesis at Yale University.

COMMERCIAL ACCOUNTING, by R. H. S. Beacham. *University of London Press Ltd.*, 1964; pp. 447; 25s.

The author says that commercial accounting "sees the business undertaking as an economic rather than as a legal unit". His book will be of value to all branches of the accounting profession and financial administrators.

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN BUSINESS MANAGEMENT, by James Derriman. *University of London Press*, 1964; pp. 238; 18s.

This is the first handbook on this subject written specifically for directors and managers of British companies. It explains the role of 'P.R.' in all aspects of business.

EXPLOITATION, UTILISATION, ET POTENTIEL ECONOMIQUE LOCAUX DES BOIS D'AFRIQUE INTERTROPICALE, by P. Vergaegen. *CEDESA, Brussels*, 1964; 3 vols., pp. 630; 1,000 Belg. francs.

The ninth in a series of comprehensive bibliographies on various social and economic matters in Africa. It cites 2211 references to the exploitation and economic potential of timber, and also lists authors, publications, and scientific and commercial timber terms.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER, A.S.A. Monographs No. 2, *Tavistock Publications London*, 1965; pp. 142; 30s.

This volume derives from material presented at a conference on "New Approaches in Social Anthropology", sponsored by the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth, held at Cambridge in July, 1963. It deals, among other subjects, with village and local government in India, and with the political structure of African kingdoms.

THE ART OF JUDGMENT. A STUDY OF POLICY MAKING, by Sir Geoffrey Vickers. *Chapman & Hall, London*, 1965; pp. 242; 25s.

The author, a man of distinction in law, business and public service, examines policy making as a personal skill and as a social process. He provides a new analysis of the process of judgement by which decisions are both made and assessed. This is a useful book to any decision-maker in government, law, or business.

HUGGINS OF RHODESIA. THE MAN AND HIS COUNTRY, by L. H. Gann and M. Gelfand. *George Allen and Urwin, London*, 1964; pp. 285; 42s.

In the preface to their book, Dr. Gann and Professor Gelfand take the novel view that the modern history of Central Africa can be summed up in the lives of four doctors; David Livingstone, Leander Starr Jameson, Godfrey Huggins, and Hastings Banda. Their biography of the third member of this quartet of medical practitioners draws on much hitherto unpublished material and traces Huggins' life until his retirement, as Lord Malvern, in 1956.

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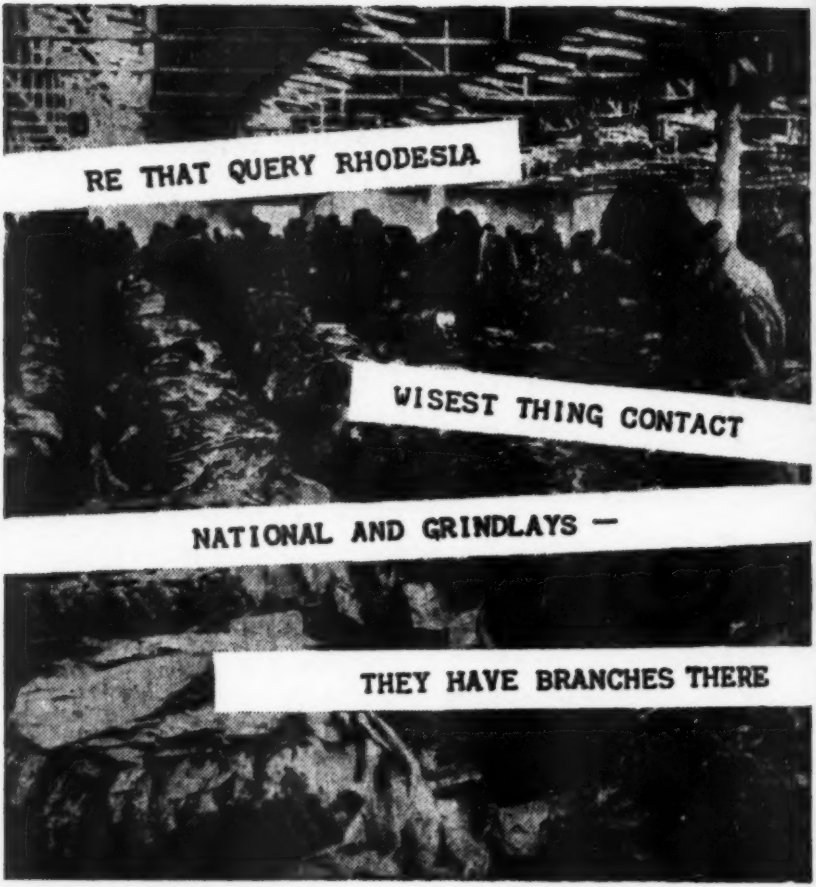

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